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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1929

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

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THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT IN BENGAL AND THE LOSS TO THE EXCHEQUER

Sir John Simon was some time ago reported to have succeeded in establishing the fact that the Bengal Government does not lose more than one crore of rupees annually by reason of a large part of the province being under the Permanent Settlement. This success is further reported to have been achieved "after a great deal of juggling with figures and methods of calculation and cleverly steering clear of what might have been." There seems to be some real jugglery behind the performance, and the result is astonishing inasmuch as it gives the lie to all accepted notions about the financial effects of the Permanent Settlement. One would very much like to know the exact method of calculation adopted by Sir John Simon. In spite of the high quarter from which the pronouncement was made, it cannot be accepted unquestioningly. It was stated in

the Associated Press message quoted above that Sir John cleverly steered clear of "what might have been." This is rather baffling to the understanding. If all alternatives to the Permanent Settlement were ruled out in making the calculations, one fails to see how the loss from the Settlement could be computed at all. Any estimate of the loss to the Exchequer must necessarily be based on some comparison either with other provinces, or with "what might have been" or with what can yet be. I venture to give some calculations below based on such comparisons.

(1) *Land Revenue per head of population.*—The land revenue per head of population is 10 annas 6 pies in Bengal, Rs. 2-5-3 in Bombay (excluding Sind) and Rs. 2-0-6 in the Ryotwari areas of Madras. Land in Bengal is certainly more fertile than in Bombay or Madras, and if Bengal had a Ryotwari system, the assessment would have been at least as high as in Bombay or Madras. The population of Bengal according to the Census of 1921 is 46,695,536. The annual loss to the Exchequer on the Bombay basis is, therefore, Rs. 78,069,098 and on the Madras basis, Rs. 64,206,362.

(2) *Land Revenue per acre of assessed area.*—This gives a more correct index of the loss than the previous method. In Bengal the rate is 9 annas per acre in the permanently settled Zemindari areas, whereas it is Rs. 1-3-8 per acre in Bombay (Ryotwari) and Rs. 1-14-5 in Madras (Ryotwari). The fully assessed permanently settled Zemindari area in Bengal is 37,278,571 acres. Thus the annual loss is Rs. 24,852,381 on the Bombay basis, and Rs. 49,898,920 on the Madras basis.

(3) One of the cardinal principles of public finance is that a tax should bring into the coffers of the State as great a share as possible of what it takes from the pockets of the people. Judged by this standard the tax on land in Bengal is a very bad

tax. It takes a lot from the pockets of the ryots but brings little into the public chest. In 1901 the Government of Bengal estimated that the share appropriated by the Zemindars of Bengal and Bihar over and above what was conceded to them by the Settlement of 1793 was at least 12 crores of rupees per annum. (Land Revenue Policy of the Indian Government, p. 56.) This share, if anything, must have increased during the last 28 years. Excluding the share of Bihar, the amount pocketed by the Zemindars of Bengal would amount to more than 5 crores per annum on the most moderate computation. This is the real loss to the Exchequer from the Permanent Settlement which set up a class of intermediaries between Government and the tillers of the soil. The Permanent Settlement may have done much good or much harm to the country in other ways; but I am not concerned with those questions here. What I have tried to show is that whatever method of computation we adopt, the annual financial loss to the Exchequer would amount to very much more than one crore of rupees. In instituting a comparison with other provinces I have purposely selected the Ryotwari areas of Bombay and Madras, because they afford a much better basis of comparison than the Zemindari and Malguzari areas of other provinces. Even if we take the Zemindari areas in the United Provinces or the Punjab, the rate of assessment will be found to be considerably higher than in Bengal.

While on the present subject, it may not be out of place to make a few remarks about the financial position of Bengal. This position has been anything but satisfactory for sometime past. It has been asserted from several quarters that Bengal is being fleeced for the benefit of the Central Government. The progress of Bengal has been very much handicapped for want of funds; the Presidency is spending much less on nation-building departments than many other provinces though its population exceeds that of any other province. The following table shows the anomaly of the situation.

(Figures in lakhs).

	Total Population.	Total Revenue, 1927-28.	Expenditure on Education from Provincial Revenues.	Expenditure under Medical, Public Health, Agriculture and Industries.	Total of Columns 3 and 4.
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Madras	423	1,699	219	145	364
Bombay	387	1,534	202	96	298
U. P.	454	1,286	192	107	299
The Punjab	207	1,206	150	113	263
Bengal	467	1,081	138	116	254

Now compare the following table :—

1927-28.

(In lakhs of rupees)

	Madras.	Bombay.	U. P.	The Punjab.	Bengal.
Land Revenue	624	523	693	300	315
Excise	534	396	140	118	224
Stamps	250	175	171	118	347
Total	1,408	1,094	1,004	536	886
Total Revenues	1,699	1,534	1,286	1,206	1,081

From the above tables it will be clear that Land Revenue and Excise explain to a large extent the smallness of the revenues of Bengal as compared with other main provinces. Thanks to the complexities of her land laws, Bengal has earned an unenviable notoriety for litigation and ' judicial ' stamps have become

the most fruitful source of revenue. But apart from the questionable character of this head of receipt, it helps only to a small extent to cover the shortage under Land Revenue and Excise. Any increase in the receipts under Excise is not desirable and Bengal would rather be content with a small income than compete with Madras or Bombay in this respect. But Bengal can very ill afford to suffer the loss under Land Revenue. Those who are acquainted with the history of the Land System in Bengal know that rents received by the Zemindars from Ryots comprise a large element of "unearned increments." This source of revenue has been tapped in recent times in all advanced countries—a tax on unearned increments being regarded as a sound tax by the science of Public Finance. The time has probably come for seriously considering the question of tapping this source in Bengal. Just fancy what a great thing it would be to spend, say, one more crore of rupees per annum on primary education!

It has been argued that the Central Government is robbing Bengal every year of at least four crores of rupees on account of the Jute Export Duty whose proceeds legitimately belong to Bengal. The argument may be sound as an abstract piece of theorising but one has to constantly keep an eye over the practical aspect of financial questions. If the subjects of administration must be divided as "Central" and "Provincial," it must necessarily follow that the heads of revenue must also be divided more or less identically. The administration of the Customs Department must always be a Central subject. The nature and amount of the Jute Export Duty will, therefore, be always fixed by the Central Government, and Bengal will not probably be well-advised to have as a principal source of revenue an item over which it has no control. If at any time it be found necessary to reduce or abolish the Jute Export Duty for fiscal reasons—and such a supposition is not at all absurd, there would be a very violent shock to the provincial finances. If one considers the question of *likelihood*, it does not seem to

be at all probable that the Central Government will make a gift of the Jute Export Duty to Bengal. If Bengal be given this concession, Assam's claim to the export duty on tea or of Burma to that on rice would be irresistible. Besides, the coffers of the Central Government are not at this moment overflowing with money. The total revenues of the country as a whole cannot be increased by a mere redistribution of resources between the Central and Provincial Governments. I am not concerned here with the financial relations between the Central and local Governments. Mr. Layton's 'Notes' on the subject, published some months ago in the *Hindu*, have given rise to interesting speculations and discussions. The old system of "divided heads" and periodical financial "settlements" was actually found too cumbrous and inconvenient before it was finally given up in 1920. A return to that system would be most ill-advised and reactionary in spite of what partisan critics and journalists may say. But as Mr. Layton has pointed out, it may be more convenient for the provinces to raise certain scheduled taxes through the agency of the Central Government. But whatever the *modus operandi* may be, the real question is one of increased taxation. The provinces may levy fresh taxes themselves, or they may jointly employ the agency of the Central Government for collecting some scheduled taxes. In the latter case, the proceeds must be earmarked beforehand according to fixed, equitable principles. Any system which gives an opportunity to adventurous local governments to cajole or bully the Central Government must be ruled out by all means in order to prevent a most ignominious wrangling between the various provincial Governments.

Reduced to its simplest elements, the problem is one of increased taxation if more money is sought to be spent on nation-building departments. The talk about any drastic reduction in the cost of administration is all moonshine. All practical statesmen must be able to perceive this simple truth. Even under a cent. per cent. Swaraj Government, the whole population

will not become so virtuous as to render the Police Department a superfluity. Nor can the League of Nations be expected to abolish warfare and armaments. If anything, the army of to-morrow must be costlier than the army of to-day. Again the "Indianised" services are no less clamorous about their demands than officers of "non-Asiatic" domicile. Any attempt to make a "cut" in the pay of Civil Servants will meet with tooth-and-nail opposition—such as no Government can face with equanimity. Democracy never has been and never will be an economical form of Government. The need in every province is for increased revenue. In Bengal the position is worse than in other provinces because of the shortage of receipts under Land Revenue. The best policy for her is to devise some additional source of revenue without delay. The state is daily becoming more pervasive and more powerful in the life of the people. Under the old *Laissez Faire* theory the functions of the State were restricted to the irreducible minimum—taxation was kept at the lowest level because it was generally held that money would fructify better in the hands of individuals than by being driven into the coffers of the State. Nobody holds such naive theories to-day. Money is a great power; it should be collected at the point wherefrom it can be applied with maximum advantage for the uplift of the people. It is an undoubted fact that in certain circumstances money can fructify better in the hands of the Government than in the pockets of individuals. Taxation by itself is not bad; the goodness or badness of it depends on the purpose for which its proceeds are utilised. In the present state of the country the taxes can do a large amount of good if the receipts are spent on education and sanitation. It may be argued that the incidence of taxation is already too high and that any further increase would be a crushing burden. But this argument is not conclusive. Firstly, taxes may be so chosen as not to press severely on the poorest classes of people. Secondly, a high level of taxation induces people to be hard-working and thrifty. It would not at all be a bad thing if the

money that is being now squandered on harmful luxuries and showy, useless, foreign articles were collected by Government through taxes and spent on education and sanitation. On the contrary such a process would bring life to the people. We can go on waiting for an indefinite period expecting a great miracle by which the exchequer will be overflowing with money without the levy of any additional taxation ; but if we are in earnest, we should levy fresh taxes without losing a moment and find money for the nation-building departments. No tax can be too burdensome and no suffering too great, if it were necessary for the establishment of a proper educational system. Will Bengal recognise this? This will probably be the test of her political capacity.

K. C.

INDIAN RAILWAYS, 1925-1928

1. *General Situation*

With the separation of Railway Finance from General Finances, effected in 1924-1925, the modern era of Indian Railway Development has begun. It is not yet possible to express judgment on the new policy and the working of the railways thereafter. The great success attained in the rehabilitation and improvement of the Indian railways, during recent years, is, on the one hand, attributed mainly to the separation of railway budget and the extension of State-management; while, on the other hand, doubt is expressed as to how far the progress has been caused by and not merely co-incident with the changes.[1] It can be stated without hesitation, however, that since the Acworth Committee's report, the financial reforms effected on the recognition of the pre-eminently commercial nature of State-railway undertaking, have been highly beneficial to Indian railway industry. Time only will show how far these reforms, including the institution of the Depreciation and Reserve Funds, and the separation of audit and accounts, are inseparable from the question of separation of railway finances and how far, during years of great financial stringency, the State will respect the convention for the railway's contribution to general revenues. Even as it is, the Indian Legislative Assembly is growing jealous of the increasing balances in the Railway Reserve Fund.[2]

[1] Railway Budget Speeches, 1929-1930, by Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdasand Mr. Jumnadas Mehta.

[2] A special committee is at present engaged in examining the convention for the railway's contribution to general revenues in connection with a proposed revision of the arrangements for separation of Railway Finance (March, 1929).

The interest taken by the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State in the working of railways continues to increase during the last few years.[1] The subjects in which greatest interest is shown are of course semi-political, such as, Indianisation, recruitment and training of staff, racial and commercial questions, grievances of passengers, stores indents and purchases, consumption and purchase of coal, loss on strategic lines, railway clearing accounts office, labour-disputes, new projects, and modification of tariff with a view to assist agriculture and indigenous industries. In railway expenditure the Legislature has exercised critical examination, both at the time of voting the budget as well as at other times, through the Standing Railway Finance Committee. Whatever objections might be theoretically visualised against the interference by the Legislature in commercial work of the State, it has been found in practice, in India, that the control so far exercised by the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State has been generally beneficial to the country. It is difficult to estimate how far this increasing political interference in the administration of Indian railways will remain confined within healthy limits; and during coming years, it is not unlikely that the present view regarding the railways as mainly a huge commercial undertaking, will be replaced by the policy of utilizing the entire transport system for the economic and political regeneration of the country. With increased democratisation of the political machinery, the Railway Board will be faced with the greatest difficulty of keeping a balance between a commercial administration of the railways and the political demands of the Legislature. Unless there is some huge failure in the working, Indian public opinion will, for many years, remain in favour of State-management. The present constitution of the Railway Board will therefore have to be modified, under the new circumstances that will

[1] In 1927-1928, out of a total of 2,765 questions asked in the Legislature 845 or over 30% were on railway matters. Apart from questions about 7 resolutions or adjournment motions were moved in connection with railway subjects.

arise when the Minister for Communications will become responsible to the Legislature. The time has perhaps come to discuss and devise a new machinery for the control and administration of the railways, which, while ensuring proper regard for the interests of the country, will secure expert and independent management of the lines, free from the dangers of too much political interference. The experience of all democratic countries with nationalized railway systems has been to emphasize the need for maintaining the freedom of railway administrations.[1] But, in consideration of the present special circumstances of India it is doubtful how far such independence may be to the best interests of the country. The Railway Board will have to inspire greater public confidence than what exists to-day, before a thoroughly scientific management from the railway point of view may be agreed to by the Indian Legislature. This, it is hoped, will be effected in a few years after some further extension of the present policy of Indianization, purchase of indigenous stores, fostering local railway and other industries, and encouragement to local trade. The Central Railway Advisory Council and particularly the Local Advisory Committees may have to be reconstituted with a view to secure more independent public representation and slightly enhanced powers and responsibility, in this connection.

II. Outstanding Events: (Electrification, Rates Advisory Committee, Workshop Reforms, and Publicity).

The outstanding events of the last three or four years have been the growth of electrification, the appointment of the Rates Advisory Committee, the reform of railway workshops organization, and the inauguration of railway publicity Service.

[1] Even in South Africa, during recent years, the increasing interference by the Legislature and the Minister of Transport has practically rendered the management by the Railway Commission, which was intended to be independent, uneconomical and ineffective.—Herbert Frauvel, "Railways of South Africa," 1928.

Electrification.—The first electrified line, in India, was opened in February 1925, on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway between Victoria Terminus (Bombay) and Kurla, *viâ* Harbour branch. In the following year this electric service was extended to Bandra, and afterwards to Thana and Kalyan. In January 1928 the Bombay, Baroda Central India Railway opened its first electrified section, Colaba terminus to Borivli, and by the following March the electrification of the local and suburban lines of both the railways, serving Bombay was practically completed. In 1929 the electrification of the G. I. P. Railway, main line, up to Poona from Kalyan, across the Ghats, is in progress. The electrification of the South Indian Railway suburban line in Madras is also proceeding, and that of the suburban lines at Calcutta is still under examination. A new phase in train operation has been opened in India through these electrifications, apart from their social effects on the distribution of population in the big cities. Various sources of hydro-electric supply are now under examination, and substantial economy in railway work may be secured in future years through the utilization of this new source of power. In some parts of India, particularly in the South, in Bombay Presidency, and in the Punjab, electrification may solve the difficulty of meeting road motor competition, which has, for some time, been on the increase. The following statement shows the traffic carried by G. I. P. Railway electric trains during the years 1925-1928 :

Year.	No. of Passengers (millions).	Earnings (Rs. '000s).
1925-26	4·8	3·18
1926-27	16·2	13·11
1927-28	27·4	21·27

It should be borne in mind that the electrified area differed in each year.

Rates Advisory Committee.—The Acworth Committee recommended the establishment of a Rates Tribunal in India, to

adjudicate upon disputes between Railways and the public regarding rates and fares. After prolonged consideration of the question the Government of India decided in 1925-26, with the sanction of the Secretary of State, to set up, not an independent judiciary tribunal, but a Rates Advisory Committee, consisting of a President, one Member representative of commercial interests and one Member representative of Railway interests. The Committee was accordingly appointed in April 1926, to investigate and report to the Government of India on the following subjects :

(*a*) Complaints of Undue Preference, Section 42 (2) of the Indian Railways Act, 1890.

(*b*) Complaints that rates are unreasonable in themselves.

(*c*) Complaints or disputes in respect of terminals, Section 46 of the Railways Act.

(*d*) The reasonableness or otherwise of any conditions as to the packing of articles specially liable to damage in transit or liable to cause damage to other merchandise.

(*e*) Complaints in respect of conditions as to packing attached to a rate.

(*f*) Complaints that railway companies do not fulfil their obligations to provide reasonable facil ties under Section 42 (3) of the Indian Railways Act.

Sir Narsinha Sarma, formerly Law Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, was appointed President of the Committee, and the Director of Traffic with the Railway Board was chosen as the Member representing railway interests. As regards the Commercial representative it was decided to select one for individual investigations from a panel consisting of members nominated by various Chambers of Commerce and Trades Associations.

As regards procedure, it was first laid down that applications for a reference to the Committee should be addressed to the Agent of the railway concerned with a deposit of Rs. 100, and within three months of the receipt of such application the

Agent of the railway should prepare a statement of the case and submit it with his observations to the Secretary, Railway Board. In January, 1927, this procedure was revised and it was decided that applications should be submitted direct to the Government of India, Railway Department, with a deposit of Rs. 10 only, and copies should be forwarded to the Agent of the Railway concerned. The period of three months allowed to the Agents for submission of their statement was curtailed to two months.

In 1926-27 fifteen complaints were submitted to Government out of which six were referred to the Committee. In 1927-28 nine more cases were sent for investigation. Up to 31st March 1928, the Rates Advisory Committee had submitted their report on five cases. In one case arising out of the complaint of the Grain Merchants of Ajmere against the B. B. and C. I. Railway of undue preference in rates for food-grains consigned to the Railway Co-operative Association, the Government of India agreed to the recommendation of the Committee and had the concession rate withdrawn. In a second case, arising out of the complaint against the unreasonableness of the terminal charge levied by the G. I. P. Railway of delivery of coal at the private siding of the Portland Cement Company, Government did not accept the recommendation of the Committee for remission of the terminal. In the other casses the recommendations were accepted with some modification. In 1928-29 the Committee had disposed of an important complaint of up-country cotton manufacturers against preferential conveyance of raw cotton to Bombay by the G. I. P. Railway. A small relief has been awarded by the Committee and the Government has not yet made any decision on the matter.

The experience of the working of the Rates Advisory Committee during the last three years, 1926-1929, only goes to strengthen the demand for the establishment of a full-fledged and independent Rates Tribunal in India, on the lines of that in Great Britain, contemplated by the Acworth Committee.

The present Advisory Committee is merely a half-way measure and as such it has many weaknesses. The members are not called upon to exercise that responsible judgment which can only be inspired in a judicial body. The knowledge that the Government may or may not accept the recommendations of the Committee after all the trouble taken and expenses incurred in the fighting of a case, makes the trader despondent and his confidence is shaken. Traders further complain that under the circumstances they cannot understand why an expensive committee is appointed merely to advise the Government who has already various officers, both in the railways as well as at the Railway Board, from whom the advice may be had. Moreover great difficulty is created by the onus of proof practically being laid on the complainant and not on the railway administration in India. This hand caps the trader a great deal and only a few determined complainants with an amount of expert assistance can contemplate approaching the Committee. Nothing short of a judicial body like the British Rates Tribunal, with extensive powers of calling for evidence and modifying rates and fares, can satisfactorily meet the desire of the Indian public in this respect.

Workshops Reforms.—Both the Acworth Committee and the Inchcape Committee on retrenchment emphasised the need for speeding up repair to rolling stock in India and a number of schemes for the improvement in the capacity and working of State railway workshops on the North-Western, Oudh and Rohilkhand, and Eastern Bengal Railways, had been put in hand by 1925. With the transference of the East Indian and the G. I. P. Railways to State-management an opportunity was presented to effect economies and to improve efficiency by a definite co-ordination of the work of various workshops, and it was felt advisable that the whole of the workshop organization on the State railways should be overhauled and modernised. A Committee under the chairmanship of Sir Vincent Raven, K.B.E., was therefore appointed in January, 1926, to

investigate into capacity and conditions of working in the State railway workshops. The Committee recommended an extensive re-organization of the workshops in view of modern American and British commercial works practice and the introduction of a scheduling system, having for its object the correct sequence of repairs to component parts, the balancing of operations, and the concurrent working of the various labour gangs. It was expected that without necessarily speeding up the several operations the new system would eliminate much delay caused through waiting for material, and in addition to lowering the unit repair costs the period of repairs would be reduced, thereby making a greater percentage of the rolling stock available for service. The committee further recommended the concentration of the manufacture of small parts at Jhansi and Jamalpore, the building of all lower-class coaching stock at Littorah, and miscellaneous four-wheeler coach stock at Kanchrapara. The economies expected through concentration were—

(*a*) economic production with the help of single-purpose-machines,

(*b*) greater efficiency of labour,

(*c*) reduction in the cost of supervision,

(*d*) facilities for manufacturing all details on an interchangeable basis, and

(*e*) lower labour and raw material costs due to advantageous location of the workshops and better utilization of these agents.

Certain extensions and re-modelling of the existing works, an examination of the workshop accounts system and a revision of the methods of store-keeping in the workshops were also recommended. The Accounting System was further investigated into by Sir Arthur Lowis Dickinson in 1927.

The Railway Board, during the last four years, has carried into effect extensive modernisation and reforms in the methods of working at State railway workshops, and substantial economies have resulted therefrom. Rolling stock is out of

commission for much shorter periods now, as compared with both pre-war and post-war years studied in the previous chapter, and the necessity of purchasing fresh stock is *pro tanto* diminished. A few instances may be cited to show that the improvements are still continuing. On the Eastern Bengal Railway the average cost of a standard locomotive repair was Rs. 2,000 less in November 1928, than in November 1927, and the number of days that an engine was out of commission and undergoing repairs in the shops fell from about 92 to 64. On the North Western Railway the cost of repairing a passenger carriage fell from Rs. 776 in November 1927 to Rs. 650 in November 1928, and each vehicle was only 28 days in the shops instead of 42. On the South Indian Railway the cost of repairing a metre gauge wagon fell in the same period from Rs. 260 to Rs. 152. Similar and in some instances more striking reductions in cost occurred on other railways ; and all this has been attained not by "any relaxation of the standards of maintenance, which are now probably higher than they have ever been before, but by definite economies in the cost of each repair operation." [1]

The following table, giving the repairs of rolling stock of broad and metre gauge Class I Railways, shows further the nature of the improvements effected.

TABLE : CLASS I RAILWAYS ONLY.

Percentage of average number awaiting or under repairs to average total number on the line.	Broad Gauge.			Metre Gauge.		
	1925-26.	1926-27.	1927-28.	1925-26.	1926-27.	1927-28.
Engines	22·6	21·9	20·6	19·4	19·0	17·7
Passenger carriages	15·9	13·4	11·4	12·0	11·1	9·8
Goods Wagons	6·62	5·78	5·46	6·92	6·41	4·06

[1] Explanatory Memorandum to the Railway Budget, 1929-30, p. 5.

The improved methods and organization have enabled the railway administrations to effect considerable reductions in the labour force at the workshops. For instance, in 1927 the Bengal Nagpur Railway found that an immediate reduction of about 1,600 men in the workshops of Khargpur had become possible. Similar results happened on the South Indian, the Great Indian Peninsula and the North Western Railways. Considerable embarrassment has arisen in several places on account of this, and labour unrest on the railways has grown in recent years. In 1927-28 the Government of India accordingly deputed two officers to find out the arrangement which should be made in order to secure, as far as possible, efficient and economical working in the workshops while at the same time safeguarding the interests of the workmen when a large reduction of establishment was necessary. The problem has not been solved as yet and in the present year (1929-30) the whole question of labour unrest and improvement in the conditions of service of the lower grade employees is proposed to be thoroughly investigated. An additional Member of the Railway Board is to be appointed in 1929-30 for the purpose.[1]

Publicity Service.—The immense possibility of publicity as a means of encouraging traffic was realised in India of late years and various extensions of the work have taken place on different railways. The Great Indian Peninsula Railway was foremost in this effort and a Publicity Bureau was established at Victoria Terminus in 1924, which, in addition to supplying information to tourists, made wide use of newspapers, booklets, leaflets and posters for publicity work. Some other railways, particularly the Bengal, Nagpur, Bombay, Baroda and Central India, and H. E. H. the Nizam's Guaranteed State Railways had also undertaken the publication of attractive time-

[1] Railway Budget Speech of the Railway Member, 19th February, 1929. The proposal for an additional Member of the Railway Board was not approved by the Railway Standing Finance Committee, but has been sanctioned by Legislative Assembly.

tables, booklets, posters, and picture cards of places of interest on the line. In the beginning railway publicity propaganda was directed mainly towards attracting upper class tourist traffic.

In 1925-26 a most interesting innovation of a travelling cinematograph car was inaugurated on the G. I. P. Railway. It advertised railway facilities for the public, illustrated to the masses in outlying districts modern scientific methods of agriculture, etc., so that adoption of such methods might benefit the ryot and with them the railway, and also included various entertaining and educative programme. The cinema was also intended for the education of the staff, and films dealing with vacuum brake, steam valve gear, breakdown work, firing, lubrication, track maintenance, safety-first and first-aid were prepared.

In 1926-27 the Railway Board decided, primarily with a view to encourage lower class travelling, to establish on each of the State-managed railways, branch publicity bureaux on the lines of the G. I. P. Railway Bureau. In April 1927, a Central Railway Publicity Bureau was established at Bombay in charge of a Chief Publicity Officer working under the orders of the Railway Board. The purpose of the Central office was to (*a*) co-ordinate and direct the work of branch bureaux, (*b*) control overseas publicity on behalf of the State railways, (*c*) take over and carry out film production for all the State railways, and (*d*) generally to develop all railway publicity activities. In the same year the scheme of the cinema car was extended and much valuable propaganda, both advertising and educative, has been done on different railways during the last three years. The work of film production undertaken by the Chief Publicity Officer in India is claimed to be the foremost of its kind in the world. Some of the films have also been found very useful for lectures at the railway technical schools. Owing to the very large proportion of illiterate people in India, the cinema is the outstanding method of conveying information to the

masses. It is hoped, therefore, that much beneficial results will follow this kind of propaganda. Apart from encouraging railway travelling some films are directed towards stimulating public health and welfare work, encouraging primary industries, and educating the agriculturists and villagers.

Another interesting feature of railway working and publicity during recent years has been the running of "Demonstration trains," "Trade or Bazar Specials," and Upper and Lower Class Conducted Tour Specials. The first two are perhaps unique of their kind in the world consisting of travelling exhibitions of various public interest, and moving shops of repute, from place to place, during important marketing seasons. The Eastern Bengal Railway has been the pioneer in these activities.

In October 1927, the Central Publicity Office began, in addition to the usual advertising work, to publish the "Indian State Railway Magazine," with a view partly to secure a new publicity medium, and partly to encourage the railway men of India to take a wider outlook on railway and general matters. In March 1928, the office of the Chief Publicity Officer was transferred to Delhi.

Publicity propaganda has also been undertaken overseas with a view to attract tourists. In co-operation with the P. and O. Steam Navi gation Company the running of several luxurious trains from and to Bombay has been arranged, and propaganda in Great Britain has been specially pushed. An Indian State Railway Bureau was opened in London in 1927 and a Publicity Officer was appointed for supplying infomation and advice to potential travellers and to handle enquiries arising out of press propaganda. The opening of a similar office in New York in 1929 is proposed. It is not time yet to estimate how far the expenses incurred in publicity work by the Indian State Railways are justified.

(To be continued.)

NALINAKSHA SANYAL

REPORT OF THE INDIAN STATES COMMITTEE (1928-1929)

I

At a conference convened by His Excellency, the Viceroy of India at Simla in May, 1927, a representative group of Indian Princes asked "for the appointment of a special committee to examine the relationship existing between themselves and the Paramount Power and to suggest means for securing effective consultation and co-operation between British India and the Indian States, and for the settlement of differences. The Princes also asked for adequate investigation of certain disabilities under which they felt that they laboured." (p. 5.) On the 16th of December, 1927, the Right Honourable the Earl of Birkenhead, the then Secretary of State for India, appointed a special committee of three—Sir Harcourt Butler (Chairman), Hon. Sidney Peel and Prof. W. S. Holdsworth—"to report upon the relationship between the Paramount Power and the Indian States with particular reference to the rights and obligations arising from (*a*) treaties, engagements and *sanads* and (*b*) usage, sufferance and other causes and to inquire into the financial and economic relations between British India and the States and to make any recommendations that the committee may consider desirable or necessary for their more satisfactory adjustment." (p. 5.)

On March, 1929, the Secretary of State for India (the Right Honourable Viscount Peel) presented the report of the Committee (popularly known as the Butler Committee) to the British Parliament. It has been estimated that the total cost of the Committee's work is to be about £16,000 or about two lakhs of rupees, which it is presumed that the Government of India will have to bear. It has cost the Indian Princes several lakhs of rupees simply to retain the services of a number of distinguished

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British lawyers headed by Sir Leslie Scott. If one takes into account the travelling expenses of the Princes and their retinue to England, the cost of the entertainments and publicity campaign and other expenses, it seems that the Butler Commission has cost the Indian people (of British India and the Indian States) no less than fifty lakhs of rupees. Thus the report is certainly a costly affair. It is indeed a very important document, because in future its recommendations will have a very significant bearing on the relations between the Paramount Power and the Indian States ; furthermore this report will directly and indirectly influence the decision of the Simon Commission, as regards the relations of the Indian Princes and self-governing British India. It seems that the findings and the recommendations of the Committee on the economic and financial relations between the Indian States and British India are of less far-reaching importance.

II

In discussing the "Relationship between the Paramount Power and the States," the Committee has divided the Indian States in three distinct categories and has illustrated the point by the following table :—

Class of State, Estate, etc.	Number	Area in sq. miles	Population	Revenue in crores of rupees
I. States the rulers of which are members of the Chamber of Princes in their own right	108	514,886	59,847,186	42·16
II. States the rulers of which are represented in the Chamber of Princes by twelve members of their order elected by themselves.	127	76,846	8,004,114	2·89
III. Estates, Jagirs and others	327	6,406	801,674	·74

"These states cover an area of 598,138 square miles with a population of 68,652, 974 people or about two-fifths of the area and one-fifth of the population respectively of India including the states but excluding Burma" (p. 10). Geographically India is one ; but the strategic position of the States with more than sixty eight millions of people and the financial resources of vast importance controlled by the Princes who practically exert unlimited power over their subjects (unless the Princes follow a policy injurious to the Parmount Power) has particular significance in connection with the maintenance of British supremacy over India. *It may be pointed out that the British policy is to be generous with the Princes, in so far as they remain loyal to the British Crown and extend their aid—normal and material —to strengthen British Power in India. Yet the British Government will always look upon with disfavour any demand of the Princes which will increase their Power and weaken undisputed and absolute supremacy of the British Government over them.* It is very clear that in making recommendations the Butler Committee has not forgotten the above-mentioned fundamental policy of the British Government towards the Princes.

At the very outset the Committee emphasises the point that the position of "petty states" (Estates, Jagirs and others, 327 in all) is not significant enough to command their attention. The Committee writes :—

"We may say at once that, in the main, our remarks and proposals have in view the first two classes only of Indian States, the rulers of which have, in greater or less degree, political power, legislative, executive and judicial, over their subjects. While we do not wish to make recommendations in regard to the third class, it is obvious that they are placed differently from the larger states and call for treatment in groups rather than individually." (p. 13.)

This attitude of the Butler Commission should be praised without reservation, because it will help in destroying to some

extent the existing feudalistic condition which forms a part and parcel of the rights of so-called Princes of India. It will be a very happy day, leading to final overthrow of feudalism in India, if these petty Princes (if not all the Princes), can see their way clear to give up their pretensions as "superior individuals, entitled to special privileges." It is an undeniable fact that many of the Indian Princes, in wealth, in education, are far inferior to many Britishers, Americans and Indians, who are engaged in gainful occupations. A Tata is worth more to the Indian people as a whole than many of the Indian Princes who try to perpetuate the ideal of special privilege without contributing correspondingly to the general well-being of the people.

The report points out that "of the total number of States forty have treaties with the Paramount Power ; a large number have some form of engagement or *sanad* ; the remainder have been recognized in different ways" (p. 12). Some of the conclusions, regarding the "relations between the States and the Paramount Power" arrived at by the Commission are of vast importance, in regard to the development of the "United States of India" embracing all India. They have tremendous bearing in regulating the status of Indian Princes and their supposed sovereign rights. These conclusions, in general, confirm the former decisions of the Government of India and ignore the pretensions of the Indian Princes. In short they hold that (*a*) the Indian Princes do not enjoy and cannot claim from the standpoint of International Law sovereignty; (*b*) that the claim of equality of any Indian State with the Government of India or British Government, regarding the settlement of any dispute is untenable in theory and practice of "paramountcy," from the standpoint of International Law, as well as the existing treaties, declarations of the British Government, tacitly accepted by the Princes as binding, and long standing usages, current between the Paramount Power and "its feudatories ;" (*c*) the Paramount Power has the "unquestioned right of intervention" and "to remove by administrative

order any person whose presence in the State may seem objectionable." The following extracts from the texts of the Commission's Report or authorities quoted by the Commission to sustain its conclusions, will be of some interest :

"It is not in accordance with historical fact that when the Indian States came into contact with the British Power they were independent, each possessed of full sovereignty and of a status which a modern international lawyer would hold to be governed by the rules of international law. In fact, none of the states ever held international status. Nearly all of them were subordinate or tributary to the Mogul empire, the Marhatta supremacy or the Sikh kingdom and dependent on them. Some were rescued and others were created by the British. It is not in accordance with historical fact that paramountcy gives the Crown definite rights and imposes upon it definite duties in respect of certain matter only, *viz.*, those relating to foreign affairs and external and internal security, unless those terms are made to cover all those acts which the Crown through its agents has considered necessary for imperial purposes, for the good Government of India as a whole, the good Government of individual states, the suppression of barbarous practices, the saving of human life and for dealing with cases in which rulers have proved unfit for their position. It is not in accordance with historical fact to say that the term "subordinate co-operation" used in many of the treaties is concerned solely with military matters. The term has been used consistently for more than a century in regard to political relations..." (p. 23-25).

"Although the expression 'partial independence' may be popularly used, it is technically incorrect. Accordingly there may be found in India every shade and variety of sovereignty, *but there is only one independent sovereign—the British Government*" (p. 26).

"There must be a Paramount Power and there are many questions which the Paramount Power *alone* can decide" (p. 36).

The field of the activities of the Paramount Power in relation to the Indian States may be considered under three main heads (1) external affairs ; (2) defence and protection and (3) *intervention* (page 26). The British Government has unrestricted a paramountcy over the Indian States.

The Commission unreservedly upholds the decision of the Government of India, as was represented by Earl Reading, the Viceroy and the Governor-General of India, in his letter to His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, dated, Delhi, the 27th March, 1926. In this communication Earl Reading, among other things, wrote :—

"*The Sovereignty of the British Crown is supreme in India, and therefore no Ruler of an Indian State can justifiably claim to negotiate with the British Government on an equal footing. Its supremacy is not based only upon treaties and engagements, but exists independently of them and quite apart from its prerogative in matters relating to foreign powers and policies,* it is the right and duty of the British Government, while scrupulously respecting all treaties and engagements with the Indian States, to preserve peace and good order throughout India. The consequences that follow are so well known and so clearly apply no less to Your Exalted Highness than to other Rulers, that it seems hardly necessary to point them out. But if illustrations are necessary, I would remind Your Exalted Highness that the Ruler of Hyderabad along with other Rulers received in 1862 a Sanad declaratory of the British Government's desire for the perpetuation of his House and Government, *subject to continued loyalty to the Crown; that no succession of Hyderabad is valid unless it is recognised by His Majesty the King Emperor; and that the British Government is the only arbiter in cases of disputed succession. The right of the British Government to intervene in the internal affairs of Indian States is another instance of the consequences necessarily involved in the supremacy of the British Crown.*

...I will merely add that the title "Faithful Ally" which Your Exalted Highness enjoys has not the effect of putting your Government in a category separate from that of other States under the paramountcy of the British Crown...I regret that I cannot accept Your Exalted Highness's views that the orders of the Secretary of State (for India) on your representation do not amount to a decision. *It is the right and privilege of the Paramount Power to decide all disputes that may arise between States, or between one of the States and itself, and even though a Court of Arbitration may be appointed in certain cases, its function is merely to offer independent advice to the Government of India, with whom the decision rests. I need not remind you that this position has been accepted by the general body of Indian rulers as a result of their deliberations on paragraph 308 of the Montague-Chelmsford Report...*" (p. 56-57).

III

Some of the recommendations of the Butler Commission will stand in the way of Indian Unity—federation of Indian States leading to the formation of the United States of India.—It is a matter of great misfortune that the Indian Princes made it clear that they would not deal with an Indian Government responsible to Indian Legislature and manned by Indians. They also suggested that the Indian States should have direct relations with the British Government and the British Crown. The Butler Commission's Report supports the stand of the Princes on the first proposition in the following way :—

"The States demand that without their own agreement the rights and obligations of the Paramount Power should not be assigned to persons who are not under its control, for instance an Indian Government in British India responsible to an Indian Legislature. If any government in the nature of a dominion government should be constituted in British India, such a

government would clearly be a new government resting on a new written constitution. The contingency has not arisen; we are not directly concerned with it; the relations of the States to such a government would raise questions of law and policy which we cannot now and here foreshadow in detail. *We feel bound, however, to draw attention to the really grave apprehension of the Princes on this score, and to record our strong opinion that, in view of the historical nature of the relationship between the Paramount Power and the Princes, the latter should not be transferred without their own agreement to a relationship with a new government in British India responsible to an Indian Legislature.*" (p. 31-32.)

The Butler Commission to please the Princes, has also recommended that although the Princes must deal with the British Crown through the Viceroy of India and the Secretary of State for India, the Viceroy should not act as the head of the Government of India, but act as the representative of the British Crown. The recommendation reads:—

"For the present it is a practical necessity to recognize the existence of two Indias and to adapt machinery to this condition. To this end we advise that in future the Viceroy—not the Governor-General in Council as at present—should be the agent for the Crown in all dealings with the Indian States." (p. 36.)

These two recommendations of the Commission have created considerable bitterness among all Indian nationalists who believe in the formation of a Federated India. These recommendations are interpreted as expressions of the British policy of keeping India divided into various States as was the case of Ireland —separation of Ulster from Southern Ireland or the Irish Free State. Indian nationalists are frank to admit that the Indian Princes have acted as enemies of Indian unity and freedom; and they do not hesitate to point out that in the past the selfishness of the Indian Princes and their Civil Wars were the real causes of India's subjection to foreign domination and

to-day they are working with the British to block the way of the formation of a free federated India.

Although the Indian Princes have done serious damage to the cause of Indian nationalism by their stand, which has pleased those British authorities who do not favour the granting of "Dominion Status" to India, *yet, it is also clear that the Indian Princes feel that they have been injured by the report of the Butler Commission, because it does not make any concession whatsoever regarding the pretensions of "sovereignty" and right of representation in settling dispute between the British Government and the States.*

IV

The Commission on the whole upholds the Political Department of the Government of India, the personnel of which will continue to deal with the problems affecting the States and British India. But it recommends that special care should be taken for the recruitment and training of such officers :—

"We have formed the highest opinion of the work of the Political Department...The position of a political officer is by no means an easy one. It calls for great qualities of character, tact, sympathy, patience and good manners. He has to identify himself with the interests of both the Paramount Power and the Princes and the people of the States and yet must not interfere in internal administration. There have been failures, and harsh and unsympathetic political officers no doubt. It is not possible that any system can wholly provide against such a result...At the present, political officers are recruited into one department for foreign work (work beyond the frontiers) and for political work (work in the States) from the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Army. These sources of supply are now limited. Both the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Army are short-handed. *Thoughtful political officers are concerned as to the future recruitment for their department. They think that the time*

CALCUTTA CALCUTTA

has come to recruit separately from the Universities in England for service in the states alone. We commend this suggestion for consideration." (p. 38-39.)

V

In discussing financial and economic relations between British India and the States, the Commission analyses various concrete proposals and comes to the conclusion that the Paramount Power must continue to be paramount in financial matters and therefore it must be left free to meet unforeseen circumstances as they arise (p. 51); *it also recommends that certain financial considerations may be made to states, so that on such settlements will in time grow up closer political relations between the states and British India* (p. 44). In answer to the claims of the States to the shares of the maritime customs of India, the Commission sees that there is some advantage of inaugurating a system of *zollverein* (customs union) and divide the custom revenue among British India and different Indian States on some equitable basis. Yet the Commission thinks that British India is fully entitled to impose maritime customs for the purpose of India as a whole. It is a central head of revenue in which the Provinces of India have no share (p. 42). In matters of civil jurisdiction of railways certain concessions should be made to the States, but ultimately all means of communication and transportation, such as railways, post offices, telegraphs, wireless and telephones, which are of essential strategic importance may be controlled by the Paramount Power, even when they are within the States. "*On the interests of India as a whole the Government of India must keep a certain measure of control of the loan market*" (p. 47), and thus the States will have to submit to the regulations which might be formulated by the Government of India. The Commission does not think that the Government of India should share the profits of its salt monopoly with the States, but recommends certain concessions to special cases.

VI

The Butler Committee Report emphasies the existence and continuance of British paramountcy, both politically and financially over the Sates. It also confirms that the Princes will have to deal with the Political Department of the Government of India, although the Viceroy will act as the agent for the British Crown. It stresses and accentuates the existing condition of dual system of administration of British India and Indian States and does not recommend any measure towards the need of federalisation. *In fact it advises that the Indian States should not be made to acknowledge paramount authority of the Government of India responsible to an Indian Legislature.*

One of the indirect effects of the Butler Committee's Report will be that the Indian nationalists will be forced to start a vigorous campaign in Indian States to rouse sentiments for United India which will include all Indian States and British India and be free from all alien control. On the other hand, the recommendations of the Butler Committee may be a stepping stone towards dividing India into various States which will remain under the direct control of the British Government in Great Britain and apart from British India. One thing is certain that this Report will stand in the way of granting "Dominion Status" to India in near future.

TARAKNATH DAS

INDIAN FARMING PROBLEMS

Farming is by far the most important industry within the Empire; it is in fact, the basic support of the whole Imperial structure. In India and the tropics the majority of people find work on the land, whilst in Africa, Australia, Canada and New Zealand the farming industry is fundamental. To-day an ever-increasing demand for food, clothing and other necessities of life is being made upon the Empire by an ever-increasing population. This demand can only be satisfied if the fertility of the soil is increased by an extensive and scientific use of artificial fertilisers, especially nitrogenous ones, for nitrogen is the element lacking in the majority of soils.

The influence of fertilisers on crop production is affected by a great number of factors of soil and climate, and the judicious use of fertilisers, therefore, necessitates a close knowledge of these factors. Imperial Chemical Industries Limited, whose wide activities in the field of nitrogenous fertiliser manufacture are now well known, has for a long time past been engaged in agricultural research work in the Empire. Under its auspices, exhaustive trials with the different kinds of fertilisers it manufactures or markets have been carried out in all parts of the Empire, and the useful information gleaned has been taken to the very door of Empire farmers, by means of a network of advisory bodies. The increasing extension of its field of research activities made it necessary for Imperial Chemical Industries to decide upon a central station where all research work could be co-ordinated. Its choice fell on Jealott's Hill, situated on the south bank of the Thames, about thirty miles from London. This new station, which was formally opened by the Rt. Hon. J. H. Thomas (Lord Privy Seal) on the 28th June, 1929, is without exaggeration the finest of its kind in the world.

It is the intention of the company that Jealott's Hill shall become the nerve centre and control station of its research staff and advisory organisation and shall have no less than the whole Empire as its province. Its aim will be to bring the resources of industry to supply the needs of agriculture in Britain and throughout the Indian Empire, the Dominions and the Colonies, and thus add to their common prosperity.

The Jealott's Hill Research Station and Experimental Farm is fully equipped on the most up-to-date lines to investigate soil fertility in all its aspects, in both temperate and tropical countries and in relation to all crops of economic importance.

Among the problems being investigated are the relative effectiveness of such fertilisers as sulphate of ammonia, nitro-chalk, ammonium chloride, urea, nitrate of lime, ammonium phosphate and nitrophoska; the manurial requirements of arable crops; manuring and management of grassland; economics of manuring; animal nutrition; grass preservation and land improvement.

The total number of plots under field experiments at Jealott's Hill in 1929, on the above investigations amounts to 1,204. Of this number 350 are on cereals, 246 on root crops, 547 on pasture land and 61 miscellaneous.

It cannot be too strongly emphasised that every one of the researches carried out at Jealott's Hill will be related to the strictly economic aspects. To assist the agricultural needs of the Empire, the staff of the new station, under the able directorship of Sir Frederick Keeble, though for the most part located at Jealott's Hill, will also be equipped as an overseas expeditionary force to go anywhere within the Empire at the call of agriculture.

Experiments in Britain will be supplemented by experimental work at centres scattered over the whole of the British Isles, the Dominions, the Indian Empire, and the Crown Colonies,—where fertilisers manufactured by Imperial Chemical

Industries, Ltd., are already being used, or to which in a short time they can be supplied.

Agricultural research work in the Indian Empire (including Burma and Ceylon), is being carried on in close touch with the official agricultural departments. Fertiliser experiments on the principal crops, and in particular on rice, cotton, sugarcane and tobacco, are already in progress.

In considering the possibilities of extending the use of chemical fertilisers in India, one must first of all weigh up the magnitude of the task with which agricultural scientists are faced. Stretching from nearly the same latitude as the Mediterranean almost to that of the Equator, India 2,000 miles across at its greatest width, includes within its bounds every known condition of soil and climate—from the conditions of the sun-scorched desert to those of the luxuriant tropical forest.

There are in India 250 million acres of soil already under cultivation: Bengal itself grows 21 million acres of rice; Punjab and the United Provinces have 17 million acres of wheat under cultivation; in Bombay and the Central Provinces 70½ million acres of cotton are cultivated, whilst other crops such as sugarcane, tea, tobacco and jute occupy many more million acres of land annually.

Considering this great variety of climatic conditions it will be realised how great is the problem which is being tackled by the research organisation of Imperial Chemical Industries and how difficult it is to generalise on the Indian fertiliser problem or to apply such methods as have been successfully applied in other countries.

The most important consideration in India on the use and application of chemical plant foods, in particular nitrogenous fertilisers, is the water supply. The nitrogenous and mineral nutritive elements pass from the soil to the plants by means of "Osmosis" or filtration and therefore they must be in the form of a water solution. It is therefore evident that if moisture is lacking the crops cannot use fertilisers which will, as a

result, remain inactive in the soil. For the following reasons there is another danger of applying nitrogenous and other fertilisers in large quantities where the water supply is limited. The plant in the early stages of its growth absorbs a considerable amount of plant-foods and therefore develops rapidly above the surface. Later in its growth it has not sufficient water to enable the vegetation to function normally and so it shrivels up and dies. It is preferable in such cases to apply chemical fertilisers in small repeated doses coinciding with the periods of rainfall. The application of synthetic nitrogenous fertilisers such as sulphate of ammonia to soils having a reserve of moisture is equally beneficial as a fall of rain, because as a result of the sulphate's action on the capillary tubes of the soil, moisture is brought to the surface.

An important use of artificial fertilisers arises from the poverty in organic debris of Indian soil.

Plant vegetation can be used by crops as food, but it also serves another important service—it encourages bacteria activity in the arable layer. When chemical fertilisers are employed the plant does not make so great a call on the organic reserves of the soil for its nutrition. These reserves are, therefore, saved for the microbes, the final result being better functioning of the soil organisms. This is especially important in India.

Chemically prepared plant foods are extremely useful in Indian land culture because they are easily assimilable; the plants can get over the weak stage of their early growth, and are thus better able to resist the attack of insect pests and diseases. A striking example of how nitrogenous fertilisers enable the plant to combat disease comes from Southern India. Rubber plantations here were severely attacked by a disease known as the second leaf fall, but scientific experiment proved that sulphate of ammonia, urea, and other nitrogenous fertilisers were effective combatants of this devastating malady.

Another important consideration in the use of artificial fertilisers on Indian soils is their suitability to local conditions.

As yet, only the nitrogen element has been considered at any length. Under conditions peculiar to India it has been found that in the majority of cases, sulphate of ammonia is not only the best but the most economic form in which to apply nitrogen. That is particularly noticeable in the case of such crops as rice and sugarcane.

At the present time, research on fertilisers mainly deals with the use of nitrogen, and therefore many people are apt to ignore the great value of phosphorus and potash in plant nutrition.

It has been observed in certain parts of India that there are very serious disadvantages of using nitrogen alone. Such results as the following are examples: delay in maturity, lower resistance to diseases, rapid growth outstripping water supply, and so on. These troubles are being eliminated by using a compound fertiliser consisting of phosphoric acid and nitrogen, that is ammonium phosphate. As concerns the use of potash very little is yet known; in some places where it has been tried it is said to have given very unconvincing results or none at all. There are, however, great probabilities that with the advance of chemical research the methods of applying potash will be so modified as to render it extremely useful in Indian plant culture. At the present time, intensive trials are being carried out with nitrophoska—a nitrogen, phosphorus and potassic fertiliser.

It would be interesting to consider at this juncture the effects of synthetic nitrogenous fertilisers, namely sulphate of ammonia on sugarcane and rice, two of India's main crops. The value of applying sulphate of ammonia to the sugarcane has not yet been definitely established. Certain growers, who used the fertiliser said it resulted in a decreased yield of sugar. This is thought to be due to the fact that, as nitrogen retards the maturity of plants, the sugarcane planters cut the crop before it was ripe and incidentally before the maximum sugar concentration was attained.

In the case of rice, very encouraging results have been obtained with sulphate of ammonia properly applied. It is found

to be very valuable in the rice seed-beds or nurseries, as it provides a better tilth and more rapid germination.

Experiments have also been made as regards the effect on other crops such as rubber and tobacco, and the results point out that judicious application of sulphate of ammonia pays.

The future of Indian agriculture depends on what will be carried out in the light of fertiliser research, and the future course of fertiliser consumption in India will, as a notable agricultural expert said a year ago, "be determined firstly by a correct interpretation of the results of the large number of experiments now being carried out in many parts of India and secondly, by the ability of the fertiliser industry to supply the plant-foods required in a satisfactory form and at prices which will ensure an economic return to the ryot."

We might justifiably add to this that the future of Indian agriculture will be greatly advanced by the work being carried on at the great fertiliser factory at Billingham and at the magnificent research station at Jealott's Hill.

GILBERT B. HUNTER

WITHOUT IS WITHIN

"Gáli tó chārón bán bhāī."

All four roads are blocked, how can I meet thee?
Life has many ups and downs ; the road is steep ; my feet
tremble and slip!
I set foot resolutely :
It shivers with doubt.
I fail to climb the rugged stairway to my Lord's palace,
My Lord is far, the road is long, my feeble soul flutters
and wavers :
At each milestone of life time's sentry waits!
Yet *māya's* robbers threaten the highway!
O God! hast thou ordained that we must live apart?—Nay
Mira's Lord is the Lord as the true Guru said,
And when my wandering steps were turned homewards,
Within I got united to him who was without!

PRAYER

"Shyām móhé tóri ārat hó."

Make me your true servant, O Lord!
From the web of the world's deception deliver me!
Even I put forth all the strength of wisdom, it is vain,—
The residence of philosophy is being pillaged!
I have no power :
I swoon in my impotence :
Hasten! it is morning, O Lord!
Though I hear saintly preaching, I fear evil ways of my mind,
And dwell with thy saints at all times to meditate
on thy recollection.
Lead me to the path of devotion and make Mira a hand-maid
meet for thy service.

(*From Mira Bai's Hindi Songs*)

CYRIL MODAK

THE DIALOGUE AS AN INSTRUMENT OF LITERARY CRITICISM

The dialogue as a form of literary composition usually means a conversation between two or more persons, implying however, greater unity and conformity than an ordinary conversation. It has been a recognised type of literary expression, prose or verse, since very ancient times. The method of the dialogue-form was almost universally employed in all the ancient literatures of the world for instructing the people in matters of ethics, philosophy, theology, science or myth. Among the Ancient Greeks, the dialogue was considered very well-suited for religious and didactic literature. The "Upanishads" and the "Bhagvat-Gita," the two ancient religious classics of the Hindus, are written in a series of dialogues. The old northern French had their "destats," "estrifs" or disputations. These were sometimes dramatic in form, sometimes epic and are not without significance in the evolution of French drama. The Greek 'dithyramb' is nothing but a dialogue sung musically—out of which the Greek Chorus was evolved. In early Celtic literature, we have the famous "Dialogue of the Ancients," preserved in the "Book of Lismore" which is a record of some tracts of prose and verse, attributed to one of the bards of the Fenian or Ossianic cycle of stories. On one hand we have the dialogues of Scandinavian "Edda," such as the dispute and debate between Odin and Thor and on the other, a large body of theological doctrines discussed through the medium of dialogues by the early Latin Christians of England. Sometimes a conclusion is reached as in those of a definitely dogmatic character and at other times as in "The Owl and the Nightingale" the issue is left open. Among these religious dialogues of the time, the most popular is the well-known "Debate of the Body and the Soul"

in which the two sides of human nature are well opposed. So it is evident that the dialogue existed as a literary form in the earliest literature. But the consistent and systematic use of the dialogue as an independent literary type to reproduce opinions and judgment, is commonly believed to have been introduced and developed by the Greeks. In fact the influence of the treatment of dialogue in literature by the ancient Greeks has been universal and far-reaching. Although since the days of its invention the dialogue has been variously employed and diversely utilized by the later writers, the pattern and structure initiated by the Greeks remain just the same up to the present day. Erasmus, Cicero among the Romans; Petrarch, Tasso, Galiani, Leopoldi in Italy ; Fénelon, Fontenelle, Sarassin, Voltaire in France; Lessing, Herder, Wieland among the Germans ; Vales, Carducci, Tirso de Molina in Spain; More, Dryden, Berkeley, Hurd, Lyttleton, Landor, Mallock, Oscar Wilde, Dickinson in England are among the most famous writers of dialogue, who have each in their individual manner introduced new materials into it, experimented new methods with it and adopted it for different modes of expression and different subjects. Yet, the fact remains, that the Greek device or the Greek method of treatment, especially in external structure, has been consistently preserved. So it would be worth while to say a few words here about the great Greek masters of the dialogue, although we intend to limit ourselves to the discussion of only those dialogues that have been written by the English critical essayists.

The ancient Greek philosophers employed the dialogue partly for purposes of rhetorical entertainment and partly for conducting their investigations and conveying instructions. The dialogues of Socrates are generally in the form of question and answer so contrived that the person is led himself to originate ideas that the questioner wishes to bring before him. Plato's dialogues are, more or less, like philosophical dramas in which the Socratic method of investigation is brought to

bear upon speculative subjects. The Platonic dialogue is believed to be founded on the *Mime*, which had been cultivated half a century earlier by two Sicilian poets, Sophron and Epicharmus. "The works of these writers," the late Mr. Edmund Gosse points out, "are lost but it is believed that they were little plays with only two persons. The recently discovered 'mimes' of Herodas give us some idea of their scope. Plato further simplified their form and reduced it to pure argumentative conversation, while leaving intact the amusing element of character-drawing." It is interesting to observe that the dramatic element of the dialogue is really Sicilian in origin. It was Heraclides who first introduced as the *dramatis personae* of a dialogue the famous men of a bygone age. Be that as it may, the masterly skill with which Plato handled the dialogue makes it abundantly clear that although he took possession of the form already developed by others, he brought the dialogue to its perfection. Several of the followers of Socrates, notably Zeno and Xenophon tried the Socratic method but none rivalled Plato in the grandeur of conception, skilful treatment and literary excellence. Like his immediate predecessors, he gave Socrates the leading rôle in all his dialogues and in his mouth he placed all the truths of philosophy. In almost all his dialogues, more characteristically in the "Crito," the "Protagoras," the "Charmides," the "Euthydemos," Plato draws his master Aristotle as Philosophy incarnate. The dialogues of Plato have been the most powerful instigators of human thought, apart from the value of his excellent handling of the dialogue-form. Scientific thought has not yet in the world's history proved nearly so fascinating as that combination of feeling, emotion and dialectic with which his dialogues abound.

Lucian claimed for himself as being the inventor of "a new form of dialogue—the combination of comedy and dialogue." Dialogue, he says, was employed solely for grave discussion and philosophical controversies—so that between

dialogue and comedy there existed complete discord. He, however, ventured to combine the two. Four of Lucian's well-known dialogues, namely, "Of the Gods," "Of the Dead," "Of Love," "Of Courtesans" contain his cleverest and bitterest of satires, directed against the moribund mythology at the same time exposing without the least heat of passion the absurdities of old beliefs and philosophical error. The late Mr. Edmund Gosse thought that the title of Lucian's famous collection of dialogues was borrowed in the 17th Century by Fontenelle (1683) and Fénelon (1712) each of whom prepared 'Dialogues des Morts." The English poet Langhorne 1735-1779) wrote a dialogue having the title "A Dialogue of the Dead." Lyttleton's (1709-1773) famous dialogue is also named "Dialogue of the Dead." Apart from the question of Lucian's title, Lucian's satirical use of the dialogue was extensively adopted by Voltaire and Landor, among the moderns. Lucian's dialogue suited Voltaire admirably, with its opportunities for rapid exposition of contrary doctrines, for "humorous stultification of opponents" and for witty repartee. In his "Le Diner du Comte de Boulainvilliers" and 'Frère Rigolet et l'Emperor de la Chine,' one finds the effectiveness of his dialogue-method.

All that is recorded in any literature, of what pretend to be the actual words spoken by living or imaginary people is of the nature of dialogue. Drama is entirely founded upon it. It is the soul of story-writing. But in its technical sense, the word is intended to describe what Greek philosophers invented and employed as a part of their critical method and what indeed the noblest of them lifted to the extreme refinement of art. And it would be our business here to see how some of the English essayists have utilized the dialogue in the technical sense, to what purpose and with what skill. Of course, the treatment of the dialogue in English literature has not been exclusively confined to the philosophical type. We will see as we proceed that writers have also handled it effectively to record their

critical judgment on contemporary men and events, current human thoughts and movements and social and political problems of the day. We find quite a number of dialogues in English literature which belong more to the sphere of right opinion and critical judgment than that of mere argumentative logic and demonstration. The old conception of a dialogue being "a little drama without a theatre and with scarcely any change of scene" has been greatly modified by the introduction of the materials and methods of short-story and fiction. We will also notice that the dialogue has also been conveniently utilized by those writers who have to stand outside the pulpit and to encourage others to pursue a train of thought which the author does not seem to do more than indicate. La Fontaine applauded in the dialogues of Plato those three great qualities,—vivacity, fidelity of tone, and accuracy in the opposition of opinions, which, indeed, are the essential qualities of all good critical dialogues. The tentative spirit in which the dialogue-method is to be approached and the lyrical charm of personal expression with which the dialogue-form is to be clothed, are also the finest characteristics of a piece of criticism in dialogue. It will be our endeavour to point out the dominance or absence of these qualities in the dialogues which we attempt to take up.

Sir Thomas More about the year 1515 wrote his two dialogues, entitled "Dyalogue against Lutheranism and Tyndale" in 5 books and "Dyaloge of Comfort against Tribulation." These two controversial works are written after the manner of his friend, Erasmus. But these dialogues are important enough to be mentioned only. John Dryden's "Essay of Dramatic Poesy," written about 1665, may be reckoned as the first great English critical writing in which the dialogue is successfully handled. The "Essay" is Dryden's most elaborate and noteworthy work of criticism. The circumstances of its production are common place enough. Sir Robert Howard in the Preface to his Plays (1665) answered to Dryden's argument for rhyme in the latter's dedication of the "Rival Ladies" (1664).

Dryden wrote the "Essay" as a counter-rejoinder to Sir Robert. The "Essay" takes the form of a conversation between four friends: Eugenius, Crites, Lisidieus and Neander—sufficiently identified respectively with Earl of Dorset, Sir Robert Howard, Sir Charles Sedby and Dryden himself. The four interlocutors are led to discuss the question of *Ancients* against *Moderns*, the *last* generation against the *Present*, the *French* against *English*, the Three Unities, the *liaison des scenes*, the plots of Terence, the art of Ben Jonson and many other topics besides the original problem of defence on behalf of rhyming plays.

At the very outset the dialogue reaches the point of the favourite opening of Socrates: "define what you are talking about"—when Lisideus suggests to Eugenius that "before they proceed further, it was necessary to take a standing measure of their controversy." The dialogue is Platonic or Socratic so far as its general arrangement goes. Dryden himself in his "Defence of an Essay of Dramatic Poesy" (1668) says that his "whole discourse was *sceptical*, according to that way of reasoning which was used by Socrates, Plato and all the Academics, which Tully and the last of the Ancients followed and which is imitated by the modest inquisitions of the Royal Society." The dialogue begins by an account of the circumstances which bring together the speakers for the debate and gradually opens up by slow and natural stages, to a restriction of the talk about the Drama, in particular. "The issue of the debate," Professor Ker sums up, "to which it is guided by Neander, is a compromise. The conventional admiration of the classical dramatists (Crites) and the superstition of the French stage (Lisideius) are challenged by Eugenius and Neander and shown not to bear examination. The dramatists of the last generation, Shakespeare, Jonson and Fletcher—'theirs was the great age before the Flood'—are vindicated by Dryden against the mechanic view of dramatic art. On the other hand, the Ancients and the French are not treated with any disrespect." Also in a characteristic passage in his "Defence," Dryden himself explicitly states his

case : " You see it is a dialogue sustained by persons of several opinions, all of them left doubtful, to be determined by the readers in general." Truly, the very fact that Dryden was " sceptical, tentative, disengaged " in the dialogue is his great achievement in an age when most of his contemporaries were pledged to certain dogmas and prejudices. There is nothing in the literary criticism of his times more satisfactory, apart from its brilliant analysis of dramatic principles and display of literary strength and skill, than this dialogue where his mind expatiates freely and where he meets his opponent with a great confidence in his abilities, an independent judgment and a unique clarity of thought and style. Whatever may have been his indebtedness to Tirso de Molina's "Cigarrales de Toledo" (Madrid, 1624) or other French writers notably Corneille,—the " Essay " remains to this day a *tour de force* of critical writing by virtue of its ease and intellectual vigour and strong, forceful prose. The dialogue ends in a magnificent lyric close which tunes up the whole atmosphere of discussion and talk to a spirit of calm repose and tranquil harmony and gives us a sense of human reality of the work-a-day world. The effect is unique and cannot be better felt than in the concluding words of Drydren himself : " Neander was pursuing this discourse so eagerly, that Eugenius had called to him twice and thrice, ere he took notice that the barge stood still and that they were at the foot of Somerset Stairs, where they had appointed it to land. The company were all sorry to separate so soon, though a great part of the evening was already spent; and stood a while looking back on the water, which the moonbeams played upon and made it appear like floating quicksilver : at last they went up through a crowd of French people, who were merrily dancing in the open air, and nothing concerned for the noise of guns which had alarmed the town that afternoon. Walking thence together to the Piazze, they parted there, Eugenius and Lisideius to some pleasant appointment they had made and Crites and Neander to their several lodgings."

Before we come to Landor, who of all the English essayists, adopted the dialogue most extensively for purposes of criticism, we would like to point out briefly a few other dialogues of the 17th and 18th Centuries. "The Three Dialogues between Hylas and Philonous" (1713) of George Berkeley is fundamentally Platonic, both in structure and method of treatment. Berkeley himself appears as one of the interlocutors and endeavours to meet the various objections to his own philosophy and establishes it. In a short preface to his dialogue, he attempts to enunciate his proposed plan and design, craves the reader's indulgence and claims confidence in the "notions" advanced in his dialogues. David Hume's "Dialogues in Natural Religion" (1751) belongs to the same philosophic type of dialogue—for the most part argumentative and discursive. The sceptical 'Philo' of the dialogue expresses Hume's own intellectual position in resolving all natural theology "into one simple proposition that the cause or causes of order in the universe probably bear some remote analogy to human intelligence." The eight "Moral and Political Dialogues" of Rev. Richard Hurd are more important from the point of view of criticism. His inordinately long Preface "on the manner of writing Dialogue," wherein he comments on Plato and Cicero, Lucian and Erasmus, and puts forward a strong defence for the 'ancient, serious, Philosophic dialogue,' is a very interesting critical writing in itself. In Hurd's opinion the 'ancient, Philosophic Dialogue' is only "an imitated and mannered conversation between certain *real, known,* respected persons on some *useful* or *serious* subject in an *elegant* and suitably adorned, but not in *characteristic* style," and as such all dialogues must needs be modelled on this 'philosophic' type and must possess these characteristic qualities. He criticises Berkeley and others for having adopted for their speakers fictitious characters and thinks that thereby the decorum and dignity of dialogue have been destroyed. So Hurd makes Dr. More and Dr. Waller talk on 'Insincerity in the Commerce of the World'; Mr. Cowley and

Dr. Sprat on 'Retirement'; Mr. Digby, Dr. Arbuthnot and Mr. Addison on 'The Age of Elizabeth'; Sir John Maynard, Mr. Somers and Bishop Barnet on 'The Constitution of English Government' and Lord Shaftesbury and Mr. Locke on "The Uses of Foreign Travel"—all "real," "known," "respected" persons talking about "useful" and "serious" subjects. No stronger and more dogmatic plea has ever been put forward for the 'philosophical' type of dialogue—which is "absolute in itself—for the dignity of its subject, the gravity of its manner and the importance of its end." Hurd has left for us two remarkable observations on the dialogue for the use of critical essay: (1) "The conversation may not have *really* been such as is represented; but we expect it to have all the *forms* of reality. (2) "Though Truth may not be formally delivered in Dialogue, it may be insinuated; and a capable writer will find means to do this so effectually as in discussing both sides of a question, to engage the reader insensibly on that side, where the Truth lies." These two statements are significant in so far as they show the essential relation of dialogue to criticism. George Lyttleton's "Dialogues of the Dead" show some originality in method and treatment. They possess some of that structural and analytical skil which Landor exhibited to the fullest degree. In Lyttleton's dialogues, however, there is no method of exposition or narration to explain the circumstances or events or link up the threads of the running conversation; the speakers start to talk straight away and go on one following the other in a sort of rough-hewn scheduled pattern. The device which appears so mechanical here is in the hands of a greater artist, Landor, infused with life and vividness by infinite subtle dramatic touches. Lyttleton explains his chief motive for writing these dialogues in a short Preface: "One chief design of the work, I mean, the illustrating of certain Principles and certain Characters of importance, is by bringing in persons who have acted upon different Systems, to defend their own conduct, or to explain their own notions, by free discourse

with each other and in a manner conformable to the turn of their minds, as they have been represented to us by the best authors." Lyttleton also considers the dialogue to be "one of the most agreeable of methods, that can be employed, of conveying to the mind any Critical, Moral or Political observations," because, in his opinion the " dramatic Spirit, which may be thrown into them (characters of remarkable persons) gives them more life than they could have been in dissertations, however well-written." This is, of course, very true but it is unfortunate that his performance should fall far short of his proposed design and theory. The book contains thirty-two dialogues in all, of which the dialogues between 'Ulysses and Circe,' 'Addison and Swift,' 'Lucian and Rabelais' and 'Plato and Diogenes' are the best. In these he reaches at times a high level of dramatic representation and the conversation also flows with considerable ease and naturalness.

The " Imaginary Conversations " of Walter Savage Landor present some of the most successfully executed dialogues in the history of English critical essay. The " Conversations " are supposed to be planned on the principle of the " De Consolatine Philosophii " of Böethius, but are admittedly very much unlike the latter in method. If Landor has any master it is Plato against whom, however, he had always harboured one of the inexcusable of critical perversities. These " Conversations " are, in substance, varying heroic and idylic episodes, strong in primal passion and tender charm and recounted with noble beauty of style and a subtle appreciation of " the sense of tears in mortal things." Occasionally the strength degenerates into weakness as in the dialogue of 'Peter the Great and Alexis.' Forster with an abundant profusion of enthusiasm, describes the literary character of the plan of the "Imaginary Conversations" thus : "All the leading shapes of the past, the most familiar and the most august, were to be called up again. Modes of thinking the most various and events the most distant, were proposed for his theme. Besides the fires of the

present, the ashes of the past were to be rekindled and to shoot again into warmth and brightness. The scene was to be shifting as life, but continuous as time. Down it were to pass successions of statesmen, lawyers, and churchmen; wits and men of letters; party men, soldiers and kings; the most tender, delicate and noble women; figures fresh from the Schools of Athens and the Courts of Rome; philosophers philosophising, and politicians discussing questions of state; poets talking of poetry, men of the world of matters worldly and English. Italians and French of their respective literatures and manners.....The requisites for it were such as no other existing writer possessed in the same degree, as he did. Nothing had been indifferent to him that affected humanity.....Poetry and history had delivered up to him their treasures and the secrets of antiquity were his."

Mr. Sidney Colvin conveniently classifies the dialogues into dramatic and non-dramatic. Dialogues that are full of action, character and passion fall into the dramatic group and those that are essentially characterised by disquisition, reflection and discussion fall into the non-dramatic division. "In the former class," says Mr. Colvin, "Landor is in each case taken up with the creative task of realising a heroic or pathetic situation, and keeps himself entirely in the background. In the latter class, his energetic personality is apt to impose itself upon his speakers, who are often little more than masks behind which he retires in order to utter his own thoughts and opinions with the greater convenience and variety." The dramatic dialogues are mostly brief, stirring scenes—often possessing only a sort of dramatic movement, not mentioned but implied. The speakers are felt behind the words and the effect of each piece is felt in calling forth a reply. Landor with his disdain for superfluities, rarely condescends to supply a syllable of preliatory remark; explanations or stage-directions are only to be inferred from the utterances of the speakers. The dialogue of 'Tiberius and Vipsania' in its dramatic intensity and impassioned feeling is perhaps the best of his dramatic dialogues. Swinburne could not praise it

too highly. Mr. Julius Hare declares the dialogue to be "the greatest English poem since the death of Milton." Nothing better illustrates Landor's method of adapting history to his purpose than the dialogue of 'Marcellus and Hannibal.' Landor simply takes a motive suggested by history and far from making use of any actually recorded incident he attempts to call up by sheer imaginative power only such a scene as might have been enacted, the character and the circumstances being given.

His dialogues of discussion and reflection are more numerous and individually much longer than the dramatic ones. These argumentative conversations are less interesting, not because of any intellectual deficiency but because of a certain want of plasticity in their treatment. In these we have no difficulty in recognizing Landor himself expressing himself behind the heroic mask, whether contending for toleration and open-mindedness in matters of religious faith in the person of Lucian and Melanchthon or for simplicity and integrity in thought in those of Diogenes and of Epictetus. Among the dialogues of both groups some are comic and satiric, "branding the delinquencies of priests and kings in a vein of Aristophanic or Rabelaisian exaggeration." The weakest points of Landor's dialogue-method are a certain want of sympathy with his readers, a lack of argumentative sequence or organic unity and an inaptitude for rapid or sustained narration. Landor's style is great throughout. Landor is essentially sculptural in method, and naturally he excels in epigrammatic power, fine distinctions of phrase and delicately wrought short passages of rare beauty. No characteristic of Landor's style is more marked than the abounding wealth of picture-words and fresh concrete imagery. The adaptation of a fine, musical style to the dialogue is also one of Landor's supreme achievements. Here are two of his exquisite sentences: "Life is but sighs and when they are over, it is over"; "A bell warbles the more melifluously in the air when the sound of the stroke is over...and pants upon the element that gave it birth."

Unlike other literary forms of expression, the dialogue has not been systematically utilized or developed in English literature. So from Landor to Oscar Wilde it seems, indeed, a far cry. The two well-known dialogues on "The Decay of Lying" and "The Critic as Artist," Parts I and II appear in Oscar Wilde's famous book of criticism "Intentions". (1891). The three dialogues are employed by Oscar Wilde as the vehicle of his most favourite aesthetic creeds and tenets. In fact, there was never a wittier or more insolent upholder of the theory of 'Art for Art's sake' than Oscar Wilde. However, it is not our business here to criticise Wilde's aesthetic doctrines or theories of art-criticism. Of course, judging from these dialogues themselves, no one would deny that Wilde is an impressionistic critic of singular power and imagination, in spite of all his imitativeness, extravagant sallies of wit and paradoxes and bare-faced borrowings. The emotional power of his style is essentially the product of an intensely imitative and hyper-sensitive mind. In the following passage from the Second Part of 'The Critic as Artist,' Wilde seems to make a sort of personal apologia or defence for his use of the dialogue-form through the mouth of Gilbert: "Dialogue, certainly, that wonderful literary form which from Plato to Lucian, and from Lucian to Giordano, Bruno, and from Bruno to that grand old Pagan in whom Carlyle took such delight, the creative critics of the world have always employed, can never lose for the thinker its attraction as a mode of expression. By its means, he can both reveal and conceal himself and give form to every fancy and reality to every word. By its means he can exhibit the object from each point of view and show it to us in the round, as a sculptor shows us things, gaining in this manner all the richness and reality of effect that comes from side issues that are suddenly suggested by the *central idea* in its progress, and really illumine the idea more completely or from those felicitous after-thoughts that give a fuller completeness to the central scheme, and yet convey something of that delicate charm of chance." Plainly enough,

in this Wilde makes out a case for the treatment of the dialogue as a subjective form of creative criticism. But how little has Wilde tried to follow the ' central idea ' or ' central scheme ' or to ' conceal ' himself ! What is obvious is that Wilde has deliberately chosen this form to talk and to talk at random. A sense of " deliberativeness " instinctively enters into the very texture of the dialogues : the conversation does not appear to be formal, tentative or disengaged—it is designed and the whole design is premeditated. We often seem to doubt whether men in natural conversation could ever talk in such high seriousness on such abstruse aesthetic problems ; in a word, we miss dramatic vividness, sincerity or life-like representation. For instance, the entire criticism of contemporary fiction on the ground of realism as a hindrance to creative art, put in the mouth of Vivian, would much rather suit an ably written dissertation than a spoken dialogue through which criticism is recorded.

The most significant critical essay of the 19th century through the medium of a dialogue is " The New Republic " of W. H. Mallock published in 1877. It is a lively satire on most of the prominent literary and scientific men of the late 19th century and on most of their favourite literary or scientific theories and principles. It is written in a most fascinating style with none of the foam and froth of angry or pungent satire. It is an amusing, pleasant parody of men and opinions and those who are conversant with the prevalent thoughts, ideas and ideals of the prominent men of the age, would not find it difficult to find out who is who or which is which. Even the characteristic style of writing of some of the men or their peculiar manner of speech has been reproduced with utmost imitativeness and sufficient hints are thrown broadcast throughout to discern the men or their opinions. Among the interlocutors, Mr. Luke, ' the great critic and apostle of culture,' is Matthew Arnold himself : Mr. Rose, described by the author as ' the Pre-Raphaelite, who always speaks in an

undertone and whose two topics are self-indulgence and art ' is no other than Walter Pater; Mr. Storks of the Royal Society,' ' who is great on the physical basis of life and the imaginative basis of God—the man with black whiskers and bushy eyebrows '—is Huxley; Mr. Herbert is plainly enough Ruskin and Mr. Stockton is Tyndall. In short, the dialogue may be regarded as a ' caricatured ' summary of the standard critical tendencies and opinions of the 19th century. The various critical theories of the men of art and letters on all problems, aesthetic, social, political, scientific or religious are reproduced with characteristic fullness of detail. In doing this, the author shows the rare gift of penetrative insight and also a dispassionate impartiality in representing the strength and weakness of contemporary thought-currents. Almost always Mallock tries to give only the suggestions of ideas, not the actual words as expressed by living men of the age. The dialogue begins with the usual exposition of the circumstances, much more in the narrative-manner of novel or short-story than that of a proper dialogue. In fact, the whole design is after the method of narrative-fiction and the realistic vivid touches make the dialogue very lively and natural. The dialogue never seems to drag except for three or four lengthy digressions as for instance, Dr. Jenkinson's long sermon in Book II, Chapter I, the reading of a long manuscript treatise on ' The Moral End of Action ' by Laurence in Book III, Chapter I. The conversation, however, opens in the characteristic manner of a dialogue when Laurence beings by saying " So come, now—what shall we begin with? What we want is something that anyone can talk easily about, whether he knows anything about it or not—something, too, that may be treated in any way, either with laughter, feeling or even a little touch of temper." In fact, nothing is wanting—laughter, emotion and " even a little touch of temper." The menu of topics fixed up for discussion by the members of the New Republic is consistently insisted upon—although collateral problems are often talked about, because they are inevitable,

being inter-related. The dialogue is also interspersed with a few lyric verses and marvellous bits of charming prose abound throughout. The author makes us feel throughout what is beautifully expressed by Laurence :—" We are certainly a curious medley here, all of us. I suppose no age but ours could have produced one like it." Also we are made to believe with Dr. Jenkinson as the dialogue closes, that the Utopia of the New Republic of Laurence was but " the Brocken-phantom of the present, projected on the mists of the impracticable. It was simply the present with its homelier details left out."

" The Meaning of Good " (1901), " Modern Symposium " 1905), " Justice and Liberty " (1908)—these three dialogues of Mr. Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson have achieved remarkable popularity in our present generation. It must, however, be confessed that the popularity is not in the least due to any special merits of treatment or adaptation of the form of dialogue for purposes of comment and criticisms. The reason is simple enough. To quote the apposite remark of Mr. Paul Elmer More, Dickinson is the type of those " idealistic malcontents " whose angry revolt from this modern bankrupt civilization and whose longing, lingering look behind toward a glory of the vanished past which uderlie all his discussions, have made the fame for these dialogues. Mr. More calls these dialogues the " most preciously wrought."

" The Meaning of Good " is a dialogue of the philosophical type, after the manner of Cicero's " De Finibus." In a short Preface to this dialogue Mr. Dickinson gives his reasons for choosing the form of dialogue for his discussions : " My own attitude in approaching the issues with which I have dealt was, I found, so little dogmatic, so sincerely speculative that I should have felt myself hampered by the form of a treatise," and so he discards the treatise for the dialogue. The discussions on the question of the *summum bonum* covers a long field of complicated points of view and in the midst of digressions and interruptions, we occasionally miss the main

thread of the reasoning. Fortunately however, the author has prefixed a careful analysis of his arguments showing the connection of the various phases of discussion. In bringing the company of the interlocutors gradually one by one into the discussion Mr. Dickinson exhibits the process and the method of the novel. He also introduces dramatic touches and sidelights which reveal the expression and the movement of the men as they talk. The 'Dream' with which the dialogue closes reminds us of Addison's 'Vision of Mirza' and his language here is marked by a rare delicacy of phrase and cadence.

"A Modern Symposium" is the most perfectly composed of all of Mr. Dickinson's works. With a great gift of dramatic skill and an ever-present sense of fair play, he allows all the speakers of his dialogue—Tory, Liberal, Conservative, Socialist, Anarchist, Professor, Scientist, Journalist, Man of Business, Poet, Gentleman of Leisure, Member of the Society of Friends, Man of Letters—to set forth their own individual views in a series of marvellously sympathetic speeches. It is obvious that Mr. Dickinson is more desirous to set forth the various points of view than to repudiate or endorse them, although he takes opportunities of suggesting certain opinions of his own without in the least provocating the reader's antagonism. The close of each one of the speeches is characterised by a supreme height and grandeur of oration, written in superb prose. After everybody had had his own turn of exposing the social evils and suggesting his remedies, the word is taken up by Geoffrey Vivian, a man of letters—in whose words it is not difficult to recognise the author himself as a champion of Hellenic ideals: "The Gods (of Greece) are eternal; not *they* die, but *we*, when we think them dead. And no man who does not know them and knowing, worship and love, is able to be a member of the body of Man. Thus it is that the sign of a step forward is a look backward and Greece stands eternally at the threshold of the new life."

In "Justice and Liberty" professedly a political dialogue, the author speaks through Henry Martin, the principal speaker in the role of Professor, his own views on Socialism. Mr. Paul Elmer More has attempted with great ingenuity to discover a continuous growth of Mr. Dickinson's mind and theory from dialogue to dialogue, showing his 'confusion of standards' and warning him against his irrational and ultra-radical doctrines. We do not intend here to argue on the validity or utility of Mr. Dickinson's ideas or beliefs. The form which he adopts in this dialogue clearly marks a departure from his previous method of handling it. It does not, however, show any lack of effectiveness or ingenuity. Here he takes up the structural type which Landor and Oscar Wilde made use of and executes it with the successful skill of a craftsman. Towards the end Mr. Dickinson's intense and deep-seated discontent with the present social order rises to a clamorous cry against a society which is "a silly, sordid muddle, grown up out of centuries of violence and perpetuated in centuries of stupidity and greed." The cry rises up like a mournful wail of pain and finds an echo in the author's words again: "We shall pass and a new generation shall succeed us; a generation to whom our ideals will be irrelevant, our catch-words empty, our controversies unintelligible. The dust of oblivion will bury our debates."

P. GUHA-THAKURTA

WAS THE BRITISH EMPIRE OF INDIA THE RESULT OF DESIGN?

'Nothing great that has ever been done by Englishmen was done so unintentionally, so accidentally, as the conquest of India'—so says Sir J. R. Seeley in his Expansion of England. Mr. Ramsay Muir in his book, "The Making of British India," asserts that 'Never was Empire less the result of design than the British Empire of India.' An opposite judgment shaped by passion and the issue is not uncommonly given forth as an historical fact. But we must be on our guard. It is bad history that sets patriotism before truth and it is bad patriotism that desires such disservice. We are to examine the opposite views critically in the light of history.

Sir Thomas Roe, the first British ambassador in India, formulated a policy purely mercantile and unaggressive. But in the nineties of the seventeenth century, for reasons which need not be mentioned, the Company adopted a new military commercial policy. The Company regarded itself 'in the condition of a sovereign state in India' and one of the despatches wanted the President and Council, 'to establish such a polity of civil and military power and create and secure such a large revenue as may be the foundation of a large, well-grounded sure English dominion in India for all time to come.' The policy was not successful. Chittagong which they wanted to take could not be taken and as a result of the failure of their war policy they were forced to evacuate Bengal. Peace was later, however, concluded with the Mogul government and the Company promised 'to behave themselves in the future no more in such a shameful manner.' Thus it is wrong to say that there was never any design on the part of the Company to establish an empire in India. A vague design was formulated too early for realisation. After its failure the Company never again formed

such a design and we must in all fairness acknowledge that the Company tried its best to remain a purely commercial body. It eschewed conquests, but inspite of itself gradually grew to be the paramount power of India.

In the Carnatic, the English embarked on a war-policy mainly out of a feeling of jealousy and fear for the French. In Bengal, it is said that the attack of Siraj-ud-daula upon Calcutta forced the hands of the English. But we must at the same time acknowledge that the power of the English in Bengal had become too great for any sovereign to endure. The spirit of the English merchants is well expressed in a letter which Orme wrote to Clive in which he wanted ' to swing the old dog ' (referring to Allavardi Khan). When Clive joined the confederacy against Siraj-ud-daula, he merely did this 'with a view to benefit our employers both by present and future advantage, open a greater currency than ever to business and to keep the French totally out of the dominions'. The Directors also merely thought of the commercial advantages. But Clive in the first flush of enthusiasm born of the victory wrote a letter to Pitt in which he wanted to embrace the first opportunity of further aggrandisement, and told Pitt that " so large a sovereignty may possibly be too extensive for a mercantile company." But Clive was before his time. He himself soon abandoned the project and Bengal had to pass through a period of misery because of power divorced from responsibility. When Clive set up the absured system of dual government, which was in itself a sign of the Company's unwillingness to be an imperial power, he observed, ' if ideas of conquest were to be the rule of our conduct I foresee that we should by necessity be led from acquisition to acquisition until we had the whole empire up in arms against us ***. Nothing but extreme necessity ought to induce us to extend our ideas of territorial acquisition.'

After Clive, the most important figure in Anglo-Indian History was Warren Hastings. And there is no doubt that the vision of the Company as the paramount power of India floated

before his eyes. In a letter written to Alexander Elliot, Hastings formulated his foreign policy. He wanted 'to extend the influence of the British nation to every part of India not too remote, without enlarging the circle of their defence or involving them in hazardous or indefinite engagements and to accept of the alligiance of such of our neighbours as will sue to be enlisted.' Mr. Ramsay Muir himself admits that the Treaty of Benares which was concluded with the Nawab of Oudh, anticipated many of the treaties of subsidiary alliance that brought the most important of the Indian States within the British fold. As Hastings wrote to Lawrence Sullivan he hoped ' to implant the authority of the Company and the sovereignty of Great Britain in the constitution of the country ' and undoubtedly he succeeded in giving the Company a political character which it did not possess before.

The famous self-denying ordinance, Pitt's India Act, coincided with the retirement of Warren Hastings. Those who assert that the British Empire of India was not the result of design take their stand upon it, as also upon the policy of Non-intervention of Cornwallis, Sir John Shore and others. It declared that ' to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India are measures repugnant to the wish, the honour and policy of the nation and it shall not be lawful*** for the governor and council*** either to declare war or to commence hostilities or to enter into any treaty for making war against any of the country powers or states in India '

No doubt the policy of Non-intervention was followed for some time and the annexation of a part of the dominions of Tipu Sultan was unavoidable and the policy of Non-intervention failed from the very nature of the circumstances. But we must at the same time acknowledge that Wellesley, who was the next most important Governor-General was inspired by the ambitious design of making the British the paramount power of India and of setting the Court of Directors and Pitt's India Act at defiance. It is argued that the extension of British Dominions was inevitable.

The States were in perpetual unrest. They were always encroaching upon one another. It was not possible to maintain an equilibrium or a balance of power. It was inevitable, in the nature of the circumstances that the British Government if it was to remain must advance and become the paramount power. The Non-intervention policy of Shore had made the Nizam almost a vassal of the Mahrattas after the Battle of Kharda. The French influence was again in the ascendant in many courts. Therefore Wellesley's policy was one of offensive defence. But even acknowledging that the root cause of the advance of the British dominions lay in the very nature of the Indian political situation, we cannot overlook the fact that there was a distinct design at work, a design that might have been suggested by the political situation. A definite design to make the East India Company the paramount power of India is traceable through all the actions of Wellesley whether we look at his re-arrangement of Tipu's lands, his revised treaty with Oudh, his subsidiary alliance with the Nizam, or his conclusion of the Treaty of Bassein with the Peshwa.

The East India Company was frightened by the rapid increase of debt and by the uneasy belief that the empire was becoming too large. It repudiated the policy of Wellesley but to no purpose. The reaction against the policy of annexation failed and Lord Hastings, without any such ambitious design as that of Wellesley, yet carried out the policy of that Governor-General and destroyed the Mahratta confederacy and established British protectorate over Rajputana.

The last stage of advance is marked by the conquests of Sindh and the Punjab. As to Sindh, even Mr. Ramsay Muir admits that 'it is the only acquisition in India of which it may fairly be said that it was not necessitated by circumstances and that it was therefore an act of aggression.' Sir Charles Napier defended it as 'a humane piece of rascality.' After the First Sikh War no doubt Lord Hardinge adopted with regard to the Punjab a

policy of 'experimental forbearance.' But after the Second Sikh War Lord Dalhousie asserted that the experiment had failed and annexed the Punjab. In the case of Dalhousie, however, we find again a distinct scheme at work, as in the case of Wellesley. On the outbreak of the war he said 'Unwarned by precedent, uninfluenced by example the Sikh nation has called to war and they shall have it with a vengeance.' But the conquest mainly because it looked like a conquest must not be considered very different from the annexations of Nagpur, Jhansi and Oude. We need not enter into the question of equity or inequity. A distinct design, or as some persons would put it, a distinct ideal was here also at work as in the case of Wellesley and the circumstances were favourable. The Sikh rebellion was most probably welcome to Dalhousie.

This is a short history of the growth of British India. It shows that both the opposite views contain an element of truth. The East India Company except once at the outset had no aggressive spirit. They rather showed a judicious dread of extension and conquest, partly out of a presentiment that the greater the extension the greater was the chance of the burden being too much for them and partly out of the natural feeling of a Company of traders for trade and against politics and empire. But some of their Governors-General set them at defiance. Hastings, Wellesley, Ellenborough and Dalhousie were each inspired by a design to extend the British Empire. The design varied to a certain extent no doubt according to circumstances. Nevertheless we must admit that in the case of all these four pro-consuls there was a conscious design. This seems on the face of it as something strange—the servants disobeying the masters and the masters confirming actions done in defiance of orders. But it is not so strange as it seems.

This was possible because a Governor-General, with some adroitness could play the Board of Control and the Court of Directors against each other. 'Hastings defied the home authorities. Wellesley overrode them.' The distant pro-consuls took

advantage of the discretionary authority vested in them and presented the accomplished fact before the home authorities. The Court of Directors weakened by their subordination to the Board of Control and situated at such a great distance could not exert a steady and continuous pressure.

The Company had the natural desire not to have too powerful neighbours. But they did not however want aggression. But under the circumstances as no system of equilibrium was possible the two desires were not realisable at the same time. This radical contradiction helped the men on the spot. The self-imposed canon of non-intervention was again and again violated and new territories were acquired. As in early days, it was the case with Rome when she built up her empire and as in modern times it happened in the case of Russia in Central Asia, so it has been with the East India Company in India. A strong centralized power cannot maintain a stationary boundary line among loosely organized peoples at constant war with one another. But even if we admit this primal law we cannot be blind to the fact that there was a design of conquest in the mind of some of the Governors-General and that design took advantage of the existing circumstances. We admit that the gradual extension of the British Empire in India was to a certain extent brought about by considerations of convenience, collateral advantage, as well as by accident and caprice and by the existing political situation in India but it was to a certain extent undoubtedly due to the designs of some of the Governors-General. Writing about the growth of the Roman Empire, Mommsen says, 'The policy of Rome throughout was not projected by a single mighty intellect and bequeathed by tradition from generation to generation; it was the policy of a very able but somewhat narrow-minded deliberative assembly which had far too little power of grand combination and far too much of an instinctive desire for the preservation of its own commonwealth to devise projects in the spirit of a Caesar or a Napoleon.' What Mommsen says of the Roman Senate is to a certain extent applicable to the East

India Company with its Board of Directors, with this difference, that here in British India small Caesars and small Napoleons were also at work, setting the Board at defiance.

NAGENDRAKRISHNA SINHA

THE TAJ

Do I now wake, or still in soothing dreams
Do I behold, tower and dome and spire,
Raised by some mystic hand in tongues of fire
Piercing night's lurid sky with glowing beams?
In slumber still, a monarch proud I swayed,
And worshipped true of all my conserts—one,
Then with the myriad rays the sinking sun
Casts on the cloudless, I a mansion made
Beauteous for her, that even spirits blest
Drew near to view; but when my curious eye
The Taj surveyed,' twas mine or earth impressed.
So loved the great Moghul and dreamed, while nigh
In stone the builder carved his heart's behest,
Beauty enshrining love that will not die.

H. W. B. MORENO

THE TWELFTH SESSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE

The Twelfth Session of the International Labour Conference opened on May 30, and closed on 21 June 1929. It was presided over by Dr. Brauns, Member of the German Reichstag and former Minister of Labour.

The agenda was particularly heavy. It included a final discussion of the questions of the prevention of industrial accidents and the protection against accident of workers employed in loading or unloading ships. The Conference had also to examine for the first time the questions of forced labour and the hours of work of salaried employees. Finally, it adopted various resolutions relating to the future activity of the International Labour Organisation.

The Prevention of Accidents.

The first two questions had come up for first discussion at the previous session, which had framed questionnaires subsequently sent out by the International Labour Office to the Governments of the States Members. The replies to these questionnaires served as a basis for the following International Regulations adopted by the Conference :

(*a*) A general recommendation on the prevention of accidents, which, on the basis of the enquiries of the International Labour Office into the experience of various industrial countries, proposes to the States Members the adoption of the methods considered most appropriate for the safety of the worker.

(*b*) A Draft Convention concerning the marking of weights on large packages (one ton or more) transported by sea or inland waterway. The object of this Convention is to prevent the accidents frequently caused by the use of insufficiently powerful hoisting machinery in handling heavy loads.

(*c*) A Recommendation concerning responsibility for the protection of power-driven machinery, which requests the Governments of the States Members to adopt and enforce as widely as possible regulations making it illegal within the territory of each State, to supply or instal any machinery which does not comply with the safety requirements prescribed by national laws or regulations.

The Protection of Dockers.

When the general problem of the prevention of accidents was discussed at the Eleventh Session, it was decided that apart from the general measures mentioned above, international regulations should be established concerning the safety of workers in ports. Such regulations were urgently demanded by various transport wokers' organisations.

They took the form, in the first place, of a Draft Convention concerning the protection against accidents of workers employed in loading or unloading ships. This Draft does not merely fix certain general principles ; it is extremely detailed and contains a series of minutely defined provisions. It relates to all loading or unloading operations whether on shore or on board the ship in connection with maritime or inland navigation, and excludes only ships of war. It defines the measures to be taken concerning the approaches to docks, wharves, quays and similar places, with a view to ensuring the safety of the worker. Other provisions indicate the particular means to be used to make these approaches safe. The Convention also deals with hoisting appliances and accessory gear, whether used on shore or on board the ship, and stipulates that such gear-appliances should be inspected periodically. Safeguards are also prescribed for motors, power-driven and electrical machinery, cranes, winches, etc. The Convention indicates means of avoiding the use of dangerous methods of work, and the necessary facilities for speedy first aid for the victims of accidents. It also provides

for the institution of an efficient inspection service, and for penalties for breaches of the regulations.

This important Draft Convention is completed by two Recommendations. The first draws the attention of States Members to the value of concluding reciprocal agreements; the second deals with the preliminary consultation of the workers' and employers' organisations concerned.

To sum up, therefore, in the field of accident prevention the Conference finally adopted two Draft Conventions and four Recommendations, and may be said to have fulfilled all expectations. All these measures, in the words of the Director of the International Labour Office, are intended to go towards the making of "an International Red Cross on the labour field of battle," and form a valuable adjunct to the social legislation developed by the International Labour Organisation during the past ten years.

Forced Labour.

The third and fourth questions on the agenda were discussed for the first time only, the object being to draw up questionnaires and to decide on the inclusion of the questions in the agenda of the next session, with a view to the subsequent adoption of draft regulations.

There is no need to stress the importance of these questions. With that of forced labour, the International Labour Conference attacked a new subject, affecting the conditions of work of millions of persons, as well as the intricate problem of colonisation, the relations between civilised nations and backward or primitive peoples, and the exploitation of natural resources that have become indispensable to world economy.

It may briefly be recalled that the problem of forced labour was referred to the International Labour Organisation in consequence of the Slavery Convention adopted by the Seventh Assembly of the League of Nations. The report presented to

the Conference was prepared under the supervision of a Committee of Experts on Native Labour attached to the International Labour Office. There is no room to summarise here the draft questionnaire adopted by the Conference, which covers the different aspects of the problem. All that need be said is that there was unanimous agreement in condemning forced labour for private purposes and in favour of regulating forced labour for public purposes with a view eventually to the total abolition of a system which has been only too justly described as a survival of slavery.

The questionnaire drafted by the Committee on the basis of the text prepared by the Office was amended in plenary session at the request of the workers' group, on three important points: the right of persons, engaged on forced labour, to organise the limitation of their hours of work to eight a day, and the appointment of a permanent committee of experts on native labour attached to the Office. The replies of the Governments will determine the nature of the draft regulations to be submitted to the next year's session.

There can be no doubt, that a great step forward has been taken in this matter, and that the International Labour Conference has started on an important piece of work for humanity. It should be added that the Conference requested the Office to pursue, with a view to subsequent action, its studies on various problems connected with that of forced labour, in particular that of the penalties for breaches of long-term contracts of employment.

The Hours of Work of Salaried Employees.

The Convention adopted at Washington in 1919 concerning the 8-hour day and the 48-hour week applies only to workers in industrial undertakings; but the idea that prevailed at the First Session of the Conference was that similar regulations should be gradually extended to other categories of workers. It

will be recalled that the Maritime Conference, to be held next October, will examine the question of hours of work on board-ship. At the last session the Conference considered the extension of the regulations on hours of work to salaried employees. In spite of the complexity of the problem, due primarily to the difficulty of defining the term "salaried employee," the Conference drew up a full questionnaire. Its decision opens a prospect for a very large category of workers obtaining protection in this field.

The Eight-Hour Day.

It is impossible to speak of this extension of the Convention on hours of work without mentioning the problem of the eight-hour day. One of the significant events of the Twelfth Session was the fact that on the occasion of the discussion on the Annual Report of the Director of the International Labour Office, the representative of the British Government made the following declaration: "I am authorised to state that His Majesty's Government in Great Britain propose to take the necessary steps to ensure, at the earliest possible moment, the ratification of the Washington Hours Convention."

There is, therefore, reason to hope that the difficulties in the way of this Convention, which has often been described as the keystone of International Social Legislation, are drawing to a close.

Resolutions.

A general report on unemployment prepared by the International Labour Office was submitted to the Conference, which adopted an important resolution concerning the scientific and other researches to be conducted by the International Labour Office. The Resolution also invites the Governing Body to examine the possibility of including the question of the unemployment of miners in the agenda of a future session of the Conference, preferably that of 1930.

Among the other resolutions adopted special mention should be made of that concerning the budget of the Organisation, which was introduced by Mr. Jouhaux, French workers' delegate. In this resolution the Conference expressed the wish of its Members that the International Labour Office would be given the financial means of coping with the progressive development of its work.

Reference should also be made to the resolutions of Mr. Motsuoka, Japanese workers' delegate, concerning the employment of women and young persons underground, of Mr. Joshi, Indian workers' delegate, concerning the organisation and representation at the Conference of colonial workers and non-white workers in various countries, and of Mr. Ma Cheu Chun, Chinese workers' delegate, concerning equality of treatment between national and coloured foreign workers.

Conclusions.

This brief survey of the work of the Twelfth Session would be incomplete if it did not recall that the Conference opened under the best auspices and that the number of States represented (50 out of 55) was a record. The presence of delegates from the whole of Latin America excepting the Argentine and of a complete delegation from China was particularly noticeable. In addition, the Director of the International Labour Office was able to show in his Report that the results of 1928 as regards the ratification of International Labour Conventions had been better than in any previous year.

These facts display the interest taken in the work of the International Labour Organisation throughout the world. The Organisation will soon have completed its tenth year, and this period ends on a note of optimism and achievement.

Received by the Editor from
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THE CALL TO HIGH

I heard the stars in heaven call—
"Go up higher! Go up higher!
Go up higher!—Still higher!"
—Jingling sweetly comes the melody—
"From low desires and attachments
Our hope for divinity, O son of man!"

I heard the clouds call from high—
"Go up higher! Go up higher!
Go up higher!—Still higher!"
—Crack, crack, crack comes the voice—
"From low thoughts and impulsions
Our hope for divinity, O son of Heaven!"

I heard the hills call on high—
"Go up higher! Go up higher!
Go up higher!—Still higher!"
—Roaring along runs the cry—
"From low clingings and proclivities
Our hope for divinity, O child of God!"

I heard the saints in heaven call—
"Come up here! Come up here!
Come up higher!—Still higher!"
Through the ages comes the teaching—
"From low lusts and cravings
Attain divinity, O brother man!"

I hear the Chirst calling within—
"Where I dwell come to dwell,
To dwell for ever in joy and bliss!
—See, I am with God abiding:
From within be expressed,
Thou too art thy Father's son."

"Whosoever is in *samsara* grieved,
In spirit stricken with pain and woe,
Come up here, hold my hand,
—Where I dwell none is weary;
The kingdom of God is within thee
Knowest thou not, so such worry."

"Knowing love to be the divine law,
—Which the whole universe fills—
To accomplish it be insistent,
—O rise in life observing it:
Love God's children all
Who is One and is in all."

"God thou canst not see
Neither formulate Him in words,
—Do thou worship Him
In spirit and in truth as He is,
And believing Him to be in all
Love Him in all and through all."

"Do none harm in any manner;
Even a worm if thou wouldst hurt
Thy Father's throne thou wouldst cause to tremble
And His sword of justice in the sheath;
—In one thread His universe is bound
With bird, beast, worm, man and all."

"The kingdom of God is thy goal
Where reign peace and bliss;
A sea of suffering intervenes between,
The boat of love will take thee there:
Nothing is as powerful as love
—The creed of creeds, the deed of deeds."

"If thou lovest the beautiful world,
As I loved it love it thou,
With tender kindness treat creatures all;
Be perfected through love and suffering.
Come up here! Come up higher!
— Come up where reign joy and bliss."

"Heaven lies in secret in thy heart;
In secret do thou love all more;
Be yet better, be more insistent;
—Thy Father's power is within thee:
See, the descending heaven kisses earth,
The earth ascending touches heaven."

"Divine gifts are within thee:
Take, enjoy thy inheritance;
—Who is there to oppose thee?
Whatever are thy Father's things
That are thine by birth-right;
—Brother! come, take them there."

I heard the Chirst calling within,
"Come on high to thy place;
Leaving low desires and attachments
Come up thou, rest in God!
From within be expressed,
—Thou too art thy Father's son."

G. C. GHOSH

BALLET

William Brown, a railway artificer from Rotherham, stood on the pavement outside the closed gallery door of a London theatre. He unfolded a camp-stool, set it close against the very middle of the dusty red door, and sat down defiantly. He had been travelling all day toward that dusty red door, that he might reach it before anyone else arrived for the evening performance. Dressed in his holiday suit of blue serge, with pink-striped shirt cuffs showing at the wrist, he sat upright and aggressive. His face was very pale, his enormous mouth dominated his features as in a face seen in the back of a spoon. In his mind he held an image of himself—a clear image of William Brown, the man of purpose, sitting in a haughty attitude ; and every thought, gravitating toward that image of himself, did reverence.

But by and by he looked uneasily up and down the empty pavement. Other people should be coming, people who could not guess his purpose, but people who might envy his position against the door and uphold him in his self-esteem, during the three hours' wait. He felt thirsty and a little tired ; he had eaten ham sandwiches in the train, and had come straight from the station without any tea ; he did not want to think that he had come earlier than was needful. He groped among the crumbs in his coat pocket and took out a packet of "Vitamine" chocolate—the chocolate guaranteed not to create thirst. He bit off a piece, and whilst he ate it, smoothed the paper wrapper on his knee and read how this chocolate steadied the nerve, built muscle, strengthened the voice, gave endurance, and created energy. Endurance and energy—he bit again, and his huge jaws above the receding chin worked methodically.

People began to arrive in twos and threes. William Brown looked at them aggressively, pressed his shoulders more firmly against the dusty door, and taking a newspaper from an inner

pocket, screened himself behind it. Next him were students from a music college, young and noisy, and a melancholy journalist wearing horn-rimmed spectacles. It was to be a great night—the first performance of Toledon's ballet, *The sons of the Rainbow,* and it was rumoured that Toledon himself would be there to conduct the orchestra. The queue lengthened to the corner and back along the other side of the pavement ; a limping man did a brisk trade in camp stools. Street performers came to amuse the crowd ; a dwarf man with minute legs and a large head turned grotesque somersaults on a strip of carpet ; a drunken man recited a long solemn poem , a paralytic man, whose hands trembled and whose head shook continually, was led begging up and down by a watchful woman.

William Brown sat reading ; now and then he raised his eyebrows or nodded his head in approval, though he was not taking in one word of what he read. He was there, the first of the crowd, with his back against the dusty door, keeping all those eager people away from the coveted seat in the middle of the gallery—pleasant phrases drifted through his brain , "William Brown travelled from Rotherham, William Brown first in the queue, William Brown here with a purpose."

The giggling of the music students annoyed him ; they were praising Toledon in an extravagant way ; they, none of them, said anything funny, but every now and again some one laughed. William Brown lowered his paper to stare at them, his big mouth tightening. The girls had bobbed hair, the hair of the men grew down over their collars ; the melancholy journalist was listening and watching them through his horn-rimmed spectacles.

"Weak-kneed," muttered William Brown, getting up from his stool.

"I beg pardon ?" said the journalist.

"The—this present generation is weak-kneed and silly, its music is obscene and demented," said William Brown, defiantly. "I know something about music ; I am an admirer of Handel. I've travelled up from Rotherham to-day "

"Really ?"—the journalist smiled.

William Brown gestured with his arm. "Yes—I am a lover of truth, I take nothing at second hand, I have no prejudices. I believe Toledon to be a fraud. I have come to prove it—."

One of the students made a remark in a low voice, and everyone tittered. With satisfaction William Brown felt that opinion was against him.

At the first rattle of the bolts behind him, he stooped, snatched his camp-stool, and stood facing the door, his great mouth heavy with determination.

"Look here," said the journalist as the door opened. "If you don't like this show, why have you come ?"

William Brown made some inaudible reply and ran up the steps to the pay-box.

While the gallery filled, William Brown, sitting in the very middle of the front row, squared his shoulders and looked about him. People scampered up and down, tried one seat, tried another, shouted to each other, called for programmes. Soon there was no more sitting-room, and still people hurried in ; they crushed elbow to elbow along the benches, crowded against the walls, and packed in rows down the gangways. Most of them were talking of Toledon and of the new ballet, and how there was to be an augmented orchestra. The orchestra arrived and instruments were tuned, the conductor appeared and was applauded, the overture was played, the chattering stopped, the curtain went up, the first ballet had begun.

Such enthusiasm ! Between the scenes applause rattled from beating hands as though innumerable pebbles were falling from roof to basement. Toledon's ballet was to come last; it seemed as though the enthusiasm must wear itself out before then, as if no greater appreciation were possible. With every outbrust of applause the scorn of William Brown grew within him, until it seemed as if it must escape from him like steam from a powerful engine; but he sat with folded arms and waited.

The last scene was nearly over, the dancers whirled in a kaleidoscope of colour against the brightly-figured revolving backcloth, until it was almost impossible to know where the performers ended and the scenery began. The music crashed and clamoured in staccato waves; more and more dancers leaped from the wings—aerial as fallen leaves on a windy day they spun through the final figure. The music rose to an almost intolerable pitch; the rows upon rows of white faces stared intent and overwrought, the rows upon rows of bodies leaned stiffly forward. Up, up, the conductor reached; up, up, clamoured the music; up, up, the dancers leaped; up, up, went the senses of the people. Now in some mad ecstatic region above time and space and order and established fact they tossed upon recurrent bursts of sound; swayed upon a long, level rhythm; trembled on a dissolving note; were smitten suddenly by terrible, bewildering, ear-splitting noises, then hurled down with crash upon crash of falling music, until with one rending discord they were flung to reality again. Then there was silence and the curtain fell.

Such applause! The audience stood up, cheered, stamped, waved arms; the panting dancers bowed before the curtain. But William Brown sat with his hands on his knees, waiting. "Toledon! Toledon!" echoed from all parts of the theatre. A ripple ran along the right-hand curtain, a responsive thrill passed through the audience; every eye watched the slim dark line where the curtain ended. A hand lifted it and Toledon appeared.

For William Brown the moment had come. Like a solitary prophet crying his warning to a frantic and idolatrous people, he rose, opened his enormous mouth and began to boo. Applause broke out at the same instant. William Brown leaned out over the gallery rail, made a funnel of his hands, and boo'd louder. The applause wavered for a moment, then the people around him in the gallery, by stamping, whistling, and loud shouting, tried to overpower the one dissenting voice. In vain. Taking deep

breaths his face as white as chalk, William Brown sent his protest booming down over the gaily-dressed audience. Mad, extravagant, degenerate people—William Brown against them all! Above the clapping, above the stamping, above the cries of "Bravo"—loud, indignant, strong with the strength of pent up purpose fortified by vitamine chocolate and three glasses of iced lemonade, the voice of William Brown boo'd victoriously.

When he came out of the theatre he felt drunk with exaltation. What he had travelled from Rotherham to do, he had done. Fearless, in the face of thousands, with a strong voice and an undaunted heart, he had publicly recorded his scorn and hatred of Toledon and all his works. Once before he had boo'd at an election meeting, once with great success at a religious revival, but never had he boo'd with such intense and complete satisfaction as he had boo'd that night.

He walked on down the street, his head full of sounds and images, discordant notes of music, bright whirling figures, rattles of applause, and above all the boom of his own loud voice. Again and again his thoughts, turning inward, watched that moment when he had risen, majestic, to his feet and recorded his scorn. People blurred against the lamplit radiance of summer night, passed him, hurrying for their trains. He scorned them from his soul. Taxis, bright discs of light that grew and waned, whirled along the shining polished streets; in their hum he heard the persistent echo of his own protesting voice, growing, waning, dying away. And then quite suddenly, as a lull fell upon the street, he grew angry.

He thought of the silent theatre with its litter of banana skins and silver paper, just as silent now as if his loud protest had never sounded there. It made him feel tired to think of it, tired and inadequate. Why had not more notice been taken of him? Nobody had minded much. He had stood there booing hoarsely until the theatre was nearly empty, and then he had to pick up his hat and camp-stool and walk out just like anybody else. There should have been a scene; he should have been

attacked, put out by force, perhaps trampled on. Feeling slighted, he turned the corner of the street and came into a busy square.

He stood on the edge of the pavement and looked about him—people black as ants scampering in all directions; omnibuses, like luminous snorting monsters, turning among them; a policeman in the middle of it all solemnly waving his arms like the conductor of a ballet. William Brown's great lips pouted their scorn; what was all this but another demented ballet, a ballet of night, dark and gold, danced to the discordant notes of the street traffic? Women with reddened lips hurried past him, youths with pale weak faces and thin voices leaped on and off the hooting buses, prolonged female laughter sounded from the pavement; in a continuous whirling people ran down into the tube entrance, rushed in front of taxis, scrambled for buses—and in the midst of it all stood the policeman, raising his arms, solemnly conducting the ballet of night. Weak-kneed and demented these dancers of the night, with their high heels and reddened lips, their wanton eyes, their thin voices and small mouths—oh for a voice of thunder to cry scorn upon them all! The demon of rage utterly possessed William Brown; he funnelled his great mouth with his two hands and began to boo.

The discordant sound produced an instant effect. People surrounded him; grinning faces, bobbing like corks on a tide, eddied against him; his hat was knocked off. He backed against a shop window and went on booing.

"Now then, now then," said a policeman, elbowing his way through the crowd.

William Brown did not hear him. How exciting this was, his audience was growing, people were running from all sides of the square; the dark figures under the golden glare of the lamps moved toward him as if drawn by a magnet. The policeman, in the middle of the street waved his arms in vain. William Brown, not the policeman, was the conductor of this demented

ballet—conductor and composer, calling the dancers around him like black, whirling leaves.

He scarcely noticed that he was being led away; he turned his head and boo'd back at the crowd, drawing them with him in a triumphant march up the street; his sense of power was immense, he was a god leading the mannikins of the world whither he would. His triumph lasted for perhaps a minute, then two more policemen appeared, and the crowd melted away. William Brown closed his big mouth and felt giddy and depressed; he remembered that he had missed his train, wondered what time it was, looked down, and found that his watch had been stolen.

In the police station a fat-cheeked bare-headed official, who was sitting at a table, entered his name in a book. As he went along the corridor to the cells his feet dragged with weariness. His own name kept repeating itself senselessly in his brain—"William Brown, 33, Everton Terrace, Rotherham—drunk and disorderly—William Brown, conductor, composer, prophet, god—William Brown, drunk..."

The door of a cell was opened for him. He walked in obediently, and heard, as if from far away, an amiable injunction to sleep it off. He stood in darkness, still holding his camp-stool, his thoughts turning inward to where the image of William Brown rose behind the railing of the dock. William Brown, drunk and disorderly—fifteen shillings or—He remembered with a shudder that after he had paid his fine he would have to send a telegram to his landlady for the money to get home. William Brown, teetotaller—who would believe it? He had lost his hat, he had lost his watch, it was more than likely he had lost his job.

For a black moment the man of purpose wondered why this had happened; then, like the spurt of a match in darkness, confidence glowed again. He had come to boo at Toledon, and he had boo'd. He had accomplished his purpose; what did it matter whether they called him drunk or not? William

Brown, idealist, prophet, martyr—let them say what they would.

With a last effort of defiance, William Brown unfolded his camp-stool, sitting upon it, pressed his shoulders firmly against the door of his cell.

RUTH MANNING-SANDERS

SOME PROBLEMS OF SECONDARY EDUCATION IN BENGAL[1]

My first words must be of sincere thanks to you all for the welcome you have extended to me and to your association for the great honour which they have done me in asking me to preside over this Conference. Your first two Presidents, Sir Praphulla Chandra Ray and Principal J. R. Banerjea are distinguished teachers whose services to education will long be remembered with gratitude. I cannot claim any such eminence or distinction, much less the ripe experience and mature wisdom which they undoubtedly possess. I am for these reasons deeply sensible of the honour you have done me and of the responsibilities which at your request I have agreed to shoulder to-day.

No doubt this is a Conference of the teachers of secondary schools in the city of Calcutta, and problems intimately connected with the rights and interests of the teachers and the schools in this area will arise in course of its deliberations. Let me assure you at once of my whole-hearted support in all legitimate steps which you may propose to take in that behalf. I should, however, like to draw your attention and, through you that of the educated public outside, to some of the urgent problems of secondary education in Bengal. Such problems affect the institutions you represent here just as they do all secondary schools in Bengal.

The question of future control of secondary education in this province is a vital one. Under the present system the Syndicate of the University is responsible for granting and continuing recognition to High Schools. The University has no inspectorate of its own and has to depend on reports from officers in the Education Department. It has no resources at its

[1] Presidential Address at the Calcutta Teachers' Conference, held on 7th and 8th September, 1929.

disposal which it may utilise for grants-in-aid to the schools. All that it can do is to call upon a school to effect improvements which it considers desirable, although it cannot render any financial assistance which is obviously essential for enabling the school to introduce such changes. In case the school fails to satisfy the demands of the University, the Syndicate proceeds to warn its authorities and then repeat the warning and when its patience is exhausted, it is often led to apply the finishing touch by withdrawing recognition altogether. Thus, if the school cannot mend itself, the University ends it. As one who has been connected with the University intimately for a number of years, I must at once say that the University has never been eager to deal this last blow and it resorts to it most reluctantly and only in desparate situations.

The Education Department, on the other hand, has at its disposal such sums of money as Government is willing to forego for the purpose of distribution amongst schools as grants-in-aid. It is a matter of some satisfaction that the niggardly provision of a step-motherly Department of Education has risen somewhat in recent years, though the amount set apart for this purpose is even to-day far from adequate. As I have just observed, the Education Department has no voice in the matter of recognition although it has the power to distribute grants-in-aid which are subject to conditions that are not always free from objections.

This anomalous relationship between Government and the University was considered very carefully by the Calcutta University Commission and its unanimous recommendation was to the effect that the control of secondary education should be vested in a Board specially to be appointed for the purpose. I do not propose to discuss in detail the necessity of such a Board, for I believe, whatever differences of opinion may exist on minor issues, some of which by themselves are of no little importance, it is recognised on all hands that if secondary education is to be placed on a sound basis, we must have a Board to control and guide its policy. Attempts were made some years ago to intro-

duce a Bill into the Legislative Council for establishing two Boards of Secondary Education in this province. It is an open secret that the proposal was strenuously opposed by the University and was characterised as an attempt to revive the Partition of Bengal,—this time not political but educational. It is also well-known that the Boards were proposed to be placed under the direct control of Government, and this roused the emphatic protest of the University. Only recently another Bill to establish a Secondary Board in Bengal has been drafted. Although it does not embody the considered views of Government, it has been circulated amongst various public bodies for canvassing opinion. I do not here propose to discuss its provisions in detail, but I should like to emphasise certain requirements which must be satisfactorily fulfilled before any measure can be accepted by the educated public of Bengal.

Public opinion cannot be content with anything short of an autonomous Board of Secondary Education. We do not want to give Government large powers of control in the sphere of education, secondary or otherwise. I am not concerned here in the least as to the systems which prevail in other countries. If there are countries where state-controlled education is a common feature, there are certainly others where it is not so. When the former class of cases is quoted for our edification, I feel that one very important aspect of the question is overlooked and that is that in those cases it is the Government of the people which enjoys the large powers of control, which again have been given to it by the will of the people themselves. In an inorganic state like ours, where the interests of the rulers and the ruled do not actually coincide, the educational policy must remain under the control of the people's representatives who are intent upon national welfare and efficiency. The Calcutta University Commission was definitely against any proposal to transfer to the Department of Public Instruction the powers now exercised by the University in regard to recognition of schools. The Commission, as we all know,

consisted of eminent educationists who looked at the various problems from the academic point of view and it expressed itself very clearly that the transfer of the power of recognition of schools from the University to the Department would be regarded as a reactionary measure and a menace to educational freedom. It is a sound instinct that tells us that education should not be controlled in all its vital aspects by a bureaucracy, however efficient, acting in the name of Government. The Commission went further and declared that rightly or wrongly such a proposal had become associated in the public mind with designs unfavourable to the wider diffusion of educational opportunities. Impelled by such considerations, the Commission recommended that Bengal should have an autonomous Board. Any scheme for the establishment of a Board must be carefully examined from this point of view. We recognise that the Board like other institutions will be ultimately responsible to the Government of the country but we are not prepared to give our approval to a Board which will be deprived of its autonomy and placed under the direct control of the Education Department.

An autonomous Board must be given a proper constitution. It must be representative of the various interests and we cannot consider it to be completely or satisfactorily formed unless it has on it an adequate number of distinguished representatives of Head Masters and teachers of schools. It is an irony that schemes of educational reconstruction affecting the High Schools are devised and introduced without the guidance and advice of the Head Masters who are directly concerned in the matter. The Board must have an elected non-official majority and its president, who will be responsible for carrying into effect the schemes which the Board will formulate, must be appointed in a manner which will secure the confidence of the public.

The Board must have its own staff of Inspectors on whose report it should be able to arrive at decisions. There must be a statutory provision for placing at the disposal of the Board

sufficient funds for, after all, many of our defects are directly traceable to financial troubles and no amount of wise counsel without financial support will help to remove the present unsatisfactory features of secondary education.

The demand for education as disp ayed in Bengal during the last quarter of a century or more is almost unique. But the question which it is our duty to ask ourselves is, are we imparting to our youths in secondary schools the right type of education ? It is idle for us to ignore the fact that the present system of secondary education in Bengal has almost broken down. That was the verdict of the Sadler Commission and that is also our experience. There are thousands of boys and hundreds of girls who are clamouring for educational opportunities and our schools are still crowded, notwithstanding the deficiencies of the present system. There are hundreds of institutions which are managed by private generosity and I refuse to believe that such schools are started and financed principally from the point of view of profitable business. The demand is there, the anxiety on the part of generous citizens to come forward and start schools is there, but the system of education which is in vogue is hardly of any practical utility. I have no sympathy with those, and I would regard them as enemies of progress, who declare that the remedy lies in forcibly shutting down schools and reducing their number. The remedy lies in improving the system and increasing financial assistance. I do not want to tire your patience by tracing the history and growth of the present system of secondary education in this province, but I do say this that the time has definitely come when the demand must be sent forth and clearly formulated from all associations interested in education that changes must be introduced so as to adapt the present system to modern needs and conditions.

One of our greatest drawbacks is that our boys have to learn everything through the medium of a foreign language. Nearly eight years ago the Calcutta University adopted a scheme to introduce the Vernacular as the medium for instruction

and examination up to the matriculation stage. That scheme was based mainly upon certain resolutions which were passed at a conference of Head Masters of secondary schools in this province. The scheme has not yet been introduced and I must say that while the attitude of the Government of Bengal in this matter has not always been exactly commendable, the University itself is not altogether to be forgiven for this delay. But this is a change which must come if improvements are to be introduced at all. The introduction of the Vernacular as the principal language and as the medium for instruction and examination will make teaching a reality and students will begin to take a genuine interest in their studies. This experiment has been introduced in some other provinces in India and it has altered the entire outlook of educational policy.

I do not for a moment say that we should neglect the study of English. Politically placed as we are, if not for other reasons as well, the knowledge of English is essential for us. If students are allowed to read the other subjects in their own Vernacular and also write their answers in their mother-tongue, they should be able to finish their courses far more easily than at present and should also then be in a position better to devote themselves to the study of English. I do not think that we want the average student who passes the matriculation examination to be a scholar in English; it will be sufficient if he is able to clearly express his thoughts in simple English. To tell you frankly, we need not be ashamed or be filled with horror, as some of us often are, if our boys cannot speak or write English as correctly and properly as an Englishman would do, for, after all, it is a foreign language—and one may ask legitimately, how many Englishmen, Bachelors and Masters of great Universities in the West, who have spent their lives in Bengal can speak or write Bengali as well as even the average matriculate student can read or write English.

Our curriculum and syllabus require drastic revisions in

many other respects. Some of these directions were indicated by the resolutions which the University adopted several years ago. The scheme thus formulated had as compulsory subjects, Vernacular, English, Mathematics, History and Geography. The optional subjects included among others a classical language, Advanced Mathematics, Mechanics and Elementary Science.

In this connection may I refer once again to the report of the Commission and quote its views on the possibility of development of school-organisation and the adoption of a well-planned course of intellectual training? A school, says the report, is fundamentally two things, a place of authoritative instruction and a community in which may be learnt by way of practice and preparation many of the duties and activities of life. In both of these aspects a school can form character, and it has no higher function. And through its course of studies, to some boys even more than through its corporate life, it can impart the essentials of moral as well as of intellectual training. The two are inseparable. The intellectual factor in conduct is at least as important as the emotional. But, in order that the intellectual factor may have full weight in moral education, the course of study should not only train the mind in concentration of thought, in accuracy of observation and recollection, in precision of reasoning and in the power of selecting and sifting opposite facts, but should also furnish it with ideas, kindle its admiration, make it acquainted with noble examples, arouse and train the love of beauty. Thus the question of curriculum becomes more crucial than when it is regarded simply from the point of view of what the rules of an examination require. And under the influence of this wider view of education teachers and parents alike begin to feel the need for a course of study which can touch every side of a boy's nature, give scope to all his natural gifts, stimulate him to many kinds of expression and impart to him a high purpose in life. Literature, history, mathematics and natural science, each demands a

place in such a course and in addition to these physical exercises and music, drawing and other forms of manual skill.

Such an education, wide and yet exact, adapted to individual aptitudes but also watchful of national needs, liberal as a preparation for life but also specific in its preparation both for the University and for immediate entry into other careers can only be attained by the joint action of parents, of school authorities and of the University. There must be an insistent demand for such a wider and more stimulating education and there is no power which will be able to resist it, if our demand is sufficiently articulate and effective.

I do not propose to deal at any length with various other problems which, I know, also require very careful consideration. The issue which I want to put before you is that you must organise public opinion and claim the immediate establishment of a Board of Secondary Education, not a Board which will be in the garb of a department under the control of Government, but an autonomous and independent Board, clothed with definite powers and duties by the legislature—a Board, which will devote its entire attention to the solution of the difficult problems which lie ahead of us. The first step which such a Board must take will be to introduce a new policy, to formulate a scheme of studies whose aim will be to make men fit for life and not candidates for examinations. Such a Board will arrange for the recruitment of well-equipped teachers, will lay down their minimum qualifications, will recognise their rights and status, will protect their interests, will not remain satisfied by giving warning to schools but will lend a helping hand to struggling, but deserving institutions, and with a sympathetic outlook and a zealous regard for national welfare, will carry on a progressive policy of " more education and better education."

Before I conclude, I should desire to express my views on a matter on which I feel deeply. You are all aware of the circumstances which have gradually led the University to formulate what is known as the School Code. One of the great things

which the University has achieved is to have protected the interests of the hundreds of teachers in the schools which are to-day more or less at the mercy of the Managing Committees. This protection, this assurance of support, coming from a powerful body like the University which can dissolve a school if it so chooses, has come not too early in the day. I need hardly assure you that in all cases where teachers are treated unjustly by the authorities of particular institutions, the support of all right-thinking educationists is with you. But the danger which threatens the future growth of secondary education in Bengal is the slow but systematic standardisation of rules and procedures which are being laid down by the University to be rigorously followed by all schools under its control. I do not desire to pursue this matter further, but I do feel that nothing will be more harmful to real progress than this regimentation by which all schools are to be moulded in one pattern, and individuality of enterprise and initiative are to be crushed under rules and orders. I suppose the present system of dual control exercised by the University and the Education Department is bound to lead to such standardisation and I hope and trust that this aspect of the question will be carefully examined by any Board of Secondary Education which may come into existence in future.

To the teachers of schools who are assembled here, I cannot but appeal to them to bear in mind always the nobility of the profession which they have chosen as their own. The boys who are passing through their hands to-day are the men of to-morrow and in the coming struggle for political freedom they are bound to play their part, in whatever spheres of life they might find themselves. While their achievements will depend upon various considerations, the chief of them will be the training which they have received at the hands of their teachers in schools. I do not for a moment forget the conditions of service of teachers generally and the gloomy atmosphere which usually surrounds their official duties. But even amidst such

DIAMOND AND PASTE

I—Devotion's Pride.

(I)

Thy presence, effortless creates
And livens all that be,
At unseen touch they vanish all,
Where? To hide themselves in Thee.
In Thee they are and yet are not,
For who can know they are?
The knower's naught away from Thee,
Where, there's no near nor far—
O, one who thinks he knows Thee, Lord,
And one to know not cares—
Are same to Thee, O Life of life,
Save me from pride's snares.
O, stronger than all lust of flesh,
Than pride of rank and wealth,
Is my devotion's pride. O kill 't,
And bring my heart to health,
Be Thou alone my pride and joy
That Thine be I—destruction's toy!

(II)

O, I have thrown on Giver's face
The love-gift granted by His grace!

Moeinimohan Chatterji

CATEGORIES OF SOCIETAL SPECULATION IN EUR-AMERICA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ECONOMICS AND POLITICS.

From Herder to Sorokin (1776-1928)

1928. League against Imperialism (Brussels) passes resolutions :

On British Section of League.—The Executive Commitee of the League against Imperialism regards the creation of strong mass organisations of the League in the capitalist countries as an essential pre-condition for an effective anti-imperialist movement in the whole world.

The Executive Committee receives with satisfaction the declaration made by the British Delegation under the leadership of James Maxton, that in Britain also the League will proceed to secure the recruitment of thousands of workers as members.

On India.—The Executive Committee of the League against Imperialism congratulates the Indian National Congress on having declared the complete independence of India as the goal of the Indian National movement, as all other formulae of so-called "freedom within the Empire" are but camouflaged forms of foreign domination.

The Executive Committee further welcomes the fact that, as the logical outcome of that declaration, India has unanimously adopted a rigorous boycott of the Simon Commission, thereby emphatically denying the insolent claim of the British Parliament to frame or to decide upon a constitution for the people of India.

The Executive Committee hopes that the Indian National Congress will devote itself whole-heartedly to the task of organising the workers and peasants of India, without whose active co-operation for economic and social emancipation Indian independence cannot be secured.

The Executive Committee appeals to the British workers to realise the disastrous effect upon their own standards of life

and trade-union rights of allowing imperialist exploitation in oriental countries, and calls upon the organised workers of Great Britain to take steps to secure that their representatives use their power in support of the unanimously expressed desires of the Indian people instead of aiding the imperialist manoeuvres of the British capitalist Government.

On Egypt.—The Executive Committee of the League against Imperialism denounces the methods of violence and terror adopted by the British Government to prevent the Egyptian people from exercising their legitimate right of framing laws for their own benefit, including laws guaranteeing freedom of association.

The Executive Committee supports the people of Egypt whole-heartedly in their demand for complete independence, for the immediate withdrawal of all British troops from Egypt and the Sudan, and for the international recognition of Egypt as a sovereign state.

The Executive Committee takes this opportunity of warning the Egyptian people that these demands cannot be realised so long as they allow their affairs to be decided by statesmen whose economic and social interests do not coincide with those of the broad masses of the population.

The Executive Committee calls upon them to form a united front with all the other oppressed nations and classes of the world for the final overthrow of imperialism.

On Arabia.—The Executive Committee of the League against Imperialism condemns the aggressive military operations conducted by British Government against the Arabs, both on the borders of Aden in the South of Arabia and on the Iraq frontier in the North,—operations which were absolutely unprovoked and deliberately undertaken, in order to strengthen further the hold of British imperialism on Iraq, Transordania and Persian Gulf.

It appeals to the national and Labour organisations in India to prevent by all means in their power the employment of Indian

troops by the ruling class of Great Britain to destroy the independence of the Arab people.

The Executive Committee calls upon the organised workers of Great Britain to express their solidarity with the people of the Arabian countries, by adopting all such measures as may compel the British Government to abandon its imperialist policy of exploitation, aggression and annexation, which has already brought untold sufferings to the millions of Asia and Africa, and constitutes a growing menace to the standard of life of the European working class.

On China.—The Executive Committee of the League against Imperialism draws the attention of the workers of Great Britain, America and Japan to the determined imperialist policy pursued by their Governments in China, where they either undertake direct military attacks upon the people of China struggling for freedom, or where they carry out the recently inaugurated policy of backing up all the reactionary generals of the Kuomintang to associate themselves with the campaign of murder and rapine and to adopt a provocative and aggressive policy in Manchuria against Soviet Russia. As a result of this imperialist policy, leaders of the organised Chinese workers and peasants, who had taken refuge in the foreign concessions have been mercilessly handed over to the cruel Kuomintang generals who have tortured and killed them. They have further assisted these reactionary generals to perpetrate wholesale massacres of the workers, as, for instance, in Canton last December, where they killed more than 6,000 persons in three days. Similar atrocities have been committed in Hunan, Hupeh, Kwangsi and Honan. It is the confirmed opinion of this League that, unless the workers of Great Britain, America and Japan bring active pressure upon their governments to withdraw from China, these acts of cruelty and barbarism will continue.

On Indonesia.—The Executive Committee of the League against Imperialism protests emphatically against the constant and systematic suppression of the Indonesian movement for

independence by the Dutch Government, and especially against the incessant deportations for life to the concentration camps of Boven-Digul in the midst of the jungles and malarial marshes of New Guinea.

The Executive Committee demands full amnesty for all military fighters for the independence of Indonesia who have been sentenced for so-called political crimes.

The Executive Committee calls upon the working class in Holland to give energetic support to this demand for full amnesty and to help the Indonesian people by every possible means in their fight for complete independence from the yoke of Dutch capitalist-imperialist domination.

On Latin America.—The Executive Committee of the League against Imperialism welcomes with great satisfaction the struggles of the nations of Latin America against the growing imperialist aggression of the United States of North America and especially expresses its fullest sympathy with the Nicaraguan peasants and workers led by Sandino in their heroic fight against the invasion of their country by American troops.

The Executive Committee calls upon all the anti-imperialist forces in all the countries of Latin America to form a single united front in order to resist successfully the threatening imperialist danger of North American oil capitalism, and urges the workers of the United States and of all European countries to stand by the workers of Latin America in their fight and give them all possible support especially to the Nicaraguan people in their fight for independence, to the workers of Venezuela in their fight for the overthrow of the tyrannical Gomez Government and to the Mexican peasants and workers in their efforts to build a wall against the constant attacks on their economic and political independence by the big finance and the oil capitalists of the United States of America.

(To be continued.)

BENOYKUMAR SARKAR

THE PHILOSOPHY OF SHELLEY

Quotations and References in Illustration of Ideas :

The mild reproach implied in the last 6 lines of Shelley's poem " To Wordsworth " (Pub. 1816) serves as a prelude to his more vehement utterances against conservative self-complacency. Addressing the great poet of Nature Shelley says—

> " Thou hast like a rock-built refuge stood
> Above the blind and battling multitude :
> In honoured poverty thy voice did weave
> Songs consecrate to truth and liberty,
> Deserting these, thou leavest me to grieve
> Thus having been, that thou shouldst cease to be."

Browning's " Lost Leader " is more bitter with its vehement—

> " He alone breaks from the van and the free men
> He alone sinks to the rear and the slaves ! "

In his " Feelings of a Republican on the Fall of Buonaparte " [1] (pub. 1816) he is stronger in his denunciation of enemies of freedom. He cries

> " I hated thee, fallen tyrant ! I did groan
> To think that a most unambitious slave
> Like thou, shouldst dance and revel on the grave
> Of Liberty."

But his condemnation is stronger of

> " Old custom, legal crime,
> And bloody Faith, the foulest birth of time "

[1] Shelley expresses his opinion of Bonaparte whom he considers to be a hateful and despicable being in his letter to Hogg of 27th Decr., 1812, where we have the remark—"Excepting Lord Castlereagh you could not have mentioned any character but Buonaparte whom I condemn and abhor more vehemently." (Letter No. 163.)

and here he shows himself to be a true disciple of William Godwin "the regulator and former," as he calls him, of his mind.

These two are Shelley's early poems. We next pass on to the year 1819 which is the year of Shelley's vigorous satires (mainly political).

His *Masque of Anarchy* was inspired by the notorious Manchester Massacres and refers to the most reactionary government under the bureaucratic Foreign Secretary and Prime Minister, Castlereagh [1] (1810-1822), who figures as masqued Murder, Lord Eldon being Fraud, and attacks bishops, lawyers, peers, spies, and priests who hail in a chorus Anarchy, as their "God, and King and Law." In stanzas 37 and 38 we have a stirring appeal in such lines as—

"Men of England, Heirs of Glory,
Heroes of unwritten story
Nurselings of one mighty mother,
Hopes of her, and one another!

Rise, like lions after slumber,
In unvanquishable number,
Shake your chains to earth like dew
Which in sleep had fall'n on you!
You are many, they are few."

And then in defining slavery he becomes decidedly socialistic in his utterance, saying, as he does,

"'Tis to work, and have such pay
As just keeps life from day to day
In your limbs as in a cell
For the tyrant's use to dwell:

[1] In the jocular piece "Devil's Walk" (1812) we have—"And something like Castlereagh was his (Devil's) snout" in St. VIII. (Ingpen's Letters, I, p. 231. Letter No. 116). It is curious to note that even Harriet while expressing regret for Mr. Percival's death by assassination should say "it had been better if they had killed Lord Castlereagh. He really deserved it" (Harriet's letter to Mrs. Nugent of Grafton Street, Dublin, dated Cum Elam (Wales), 7th June, 1812. And again, "I too can hate Lord Castlereagh as much as any Irishman" for his persecutions there. "How is it that man is suffered to walk the streets in open daylight?" etc. (Letter of 11th August, 1812.)

So that ye for them are made,
Loom, and plough, and sword, and spade ;
With or without your own will, bent
To their defence and nourishment

'Tis to see your children weak
With their mothers pine and peak
When the winter winds are bleak:—
They are dying whilst I speak.

'Tis to hunger for such diet
As the rich man in his riot
Casts to the fat dogs that lie
Surfeiting beneath his eye.

* * *

And at length when ye complain
With a murmur weak and vain,
'Tis to see the tyrants' crew
Ride over your wives and you:—
Blood is on the grass like dew."

"Men of England, Heirs of Glory,
Heroes of unwritten story,
Nurselings of one mighty mother,
Hopes of her, and one another!"

"Rise like lions after slumber,
In unvanquishable number,
Shake your chains to earth like dew,
Which in sleep had fall'n on you!
Ye are many, they are few."

In the stanzas following, Shelley dilates on his socialistic views in feeling words expressing his intense sympathy with the poor and oppressed working classes, who work for "such pay as just keeps life from day to day" in their limbs for the tyrant's use and see their "children weak with their mothers pine and peak, when the winter winds are bleak," and are forced to rest content with such diet "as the rich man in his riot casts" to

his fat dogs! He finishes this picture of abject misery by referring to the kind of slavery to which they are thus mercilessly subjected—

"'Tis to be a slave in soul,
And to hold no strong control
Over your own wills, but be
All that others make of ye.

And at length when ye complain,
With a murmur weak and vain,
'Tis to see the tyrants' crew
Ride over your wives and you:—
Blood is on the grass like dew!"

Then the poet most feelingly contrasts man with birds that find a restful nest, beasts their woody lair in stormy weather, horses and oxen their home after the day's toil, household dogs a snug place within warm doors when the wind roars, nay even

"Asses, swine have litter spread
And with fitting food are fed;
All things have a home but one
Thou, Englishman, hast none!"

This is a slavery that wild beasts and savage men refuse to endure, he adds, for this "is to be a slave in soul."

Then follows a Shelleyan philosophical vision of Freedom which to the common labourer must mean, Shelley even though a poet-philosopher fully remembers, a neat and happy home with bread spread on a comely table, must mean for the trampled multitude clothes, fire and food and not a mere abstract name, a shadow or an imposture.

This freedom is next identified with justice that shields equally high and low, wisdom, peace, love, of which science, thought and poetry are so many lamps.

With patriotic fervour for the good old laws of England, the children of a wiser day whose solemn voice echoes liberty, this

poet-socialist exhorts his brethren pale, who suffer woes untold, in the firm conviction of a prophetic seer—

"Let a vast assembly be,
And with great solemnity
Declare with ne'er said words, that ye
Are, as God has made ye, free"—

exhorts them saying that inspite of the tyrant's armed troops, charged artillery, fixed bayonets and horsemen's scimitars

"Stand ye calm and resolute
Like a forest close and mute
With folded arms, and looks which are
Weapons of an unvanquished war."

Shelley shows here as in *Prometheus Unbound* that he believed in spiritual resistance which is non-violent.

His "Song—to the Men of England" is a trumpet blast of courageous revolt against plutocracy resulting in the economic slavery of the masses which is much worse than political servitude. The poet vehemently enquires

"Men of England, wherefore plough
For the lords who lay ye low?
Wherefore weave with toil and care
The rich robes your tyrants wear?
Wherefore feed, and clothe and save
From cradle to the grave,
Those ungrateful drones who would
Drain your sweat—nay, drink your blood!"

The people's cause has seldom found a nobler advocate, who sincerely feels with them and not merely for them, than in Shelley who next asserts—

"The seed ye sow, another reaps;
The wealth ye find, another keeps;
The robes ye weave, another wears;
The arms ye forge, another bears."

Some of these sentiments reappear in his "Revolt of Islam" (Canto VIII, st. XVIII) :—

"Whence come ye, friends? From pouring human blood
Forth on the earth? Or bring ye steel and gold,
That Kings may dupe and slay the multitude?
Or from the famished poor, pale, weak, and cold,
Bear ye the earnings of their toil? Unfold!"

His socialistic views proceed mainly from an intense and genuine sympathy with the hard-worked and ill-fed poor mercilessly condemned to un-remitting drudgery as is clear from *Queen Mab*, sections II, III and V. Attacking Toryism in "England in 1819" he holds in contempt "the old, mad, blind, despised and dying king and princes, the dregs of their dull race

* * * * *

"Rulers, who neither see, nor feel, nor know" and a liberticide army, sanguine laws, Christless religion and unrepealed ancient statutes which have prepared for a starved people a grave from which, however, he prophesies, "a glorious phantom may burst to illumine our tempestuous day!"

In "God Save the Queen" we read—

"Pave with swift victory
The steps of liberty
Whom Britons own to be
Immortal Queen!"

* * *

"Be her eternal throne
Built in our hearts alone—
God save the Queen!"

A prose commentary to this sentiment is furnished by the last sentence of Shelley's "Address to the People on the Death of Princess Charlotte" (1819)—"Let us follow the corpse of British Liberty slowly and reverentially to its tomb: and if some glorious Phantom should appear, and make its throne of broken swords and sceptres and royal crowns trampled in the

dust, let us say that the Spirit of Liberty has arisen from its grave and left all that was gross and mortal there, and kneel down and worship it as our Queen."

In the "Ode to Liberty" the poet conceives the universe before the birth of liberty to be a chaos and a curse in which strife and war reigned supreme over beasts, birds and worms and men alike, man being no better than brutish, savage, cunning, blind, rude, driven like herds by anarchs and priests. Then he swiftly traces the history of liberty in Greece, Rome, and her advent after a lull of 1,000 years in Saxon Alfred's time, in rebellious Italian city States, at the Reformation in Germany and England, at the time of the French Revolution till anarch Napoleon rose to power. In sts. XV and XVI, kings and priests are condemned and Liberty is hailed as coming accompanied by Wisdom, Justice, Hope and Love.

In the short piece "Liberty" her revival is announced by the call of mountain to mountain, ocean to ocean, ice-bergs clashing, Typhoon bursting like thunder amidst lightning flashes, rumbling of volcanoes and earthquake's shudder—until—

"From billow and mountain and exhalation
The Sunlight is darted through vapour and blast;
From spirit to spirit, from nation to nation,
From city to hamlet, thy dawning is cast,—
And tyrants and slaves are like shadows of night.
In the van of the morning light."

The "Ode to Naples" is a sublime paean chanted in soul-stirring melody to the spirit of freedom when the proclamation of a Constitutional Government at Naples stirred Shelley's imagination and heart at the very hope of freed Italy. Addressing emancipated Naples, Shelley asserts—

"If Hope, and Truth, and Justice may avail
Thou shalt be great,—All hail! "

* * *

The signal and the seal
Art thou of all these hopes—O hail!"

When Naples will rend error veil by veil and sit unawed and sublime over ruin, falsehood, fraud, equal laws will be hers and eternal Italy will start to hear her voice. In the concluding Epode of this magnificent song to liberty, this Spirit of Freedom is identified with the spirit of Love and Beauty because the service of love which leads to beauty is always true freedom of the soul.

A prose summary, however, of richly beautiful lyrical songs of liberty is a poor substitute and I can only earnestly exhort my hearers to appreciate and enjoy Shelley's remarkable poems to which I have barely referred in illustration of the poet's socio-political ideas.

Space will not permit me to quote from Shelley's Prose Works his highly socialistic views. I shall simply refer to his "Address [1] to the Irish People" (22nd February, 1812) in which he strongly condemns all *violent* measures which in his opinion disgrace the cause of freedom and declares in unmistakable language that all religions are good which make men good just as all governments are good which benefit the governed and secure for them liberty and happiness. He also strongly pleads for unlimited toleration and a firm resolve in whoever fights for freedom to cultivate habits of thought, sobriety and regularity. One extract from it I must make where Shelley says—

"It is horrible that the lower classes must waste their lives and liberty to furnish means for their oppressors to oppress them yet more terribly. It is possible that the poor must give in taxes what would save them and their families from hunger and cold." [2] He exhorts the Irish people to read, talk, think, discuss

[1] "It is intended to familiarise to uneducated apprehensions, ideas of liberty, benevolence, peace, and toleration and secretly to shake Catholicism on its basis and to induce Quakerish and Socinian principles in Politics" (Letter of 26 January, 1812, to Elizabeth Hitchener). To Godwin he says that it 'consists of the benevolent and tolerant deductions of philosophy reduced into the simplest language" and contains nothing that "can harm the cause of liberty and happiness.'

[2] *Cf.* Paine's "Rights of Man," Part II, Ch. V, p. 213, etc.

in order to gain wisdom, for " without virtue or wisdom there can be no liberty or happiness," and then to form associations for conducting peaceful agitation against their grievances and to fight for Catholic emancipation, repeal of the Union Act, and Liberty of the Press. Shelley, though very young, is not however an impatient idealist but thoroughly practical in suggesting that he does not as a reformer expect a rapid change ; on the contrary he believes that all these good things, though bound to come, will arrive not immediately but gradually.

As a practical political, social and religious reformer he next proceeds to formulate his definite proposals for an Association [1] for Repeal of all Acts that are detrimental to Irish interests and removal of grievances and palliation or annihilation of political and moral evil and ardently dwells on the religion of philanthropy. We must note that Shelley invariably couples liberty with virtue or wisdom and universal love. He vigorously attacks bigotry, power of wealth, superstition and enjoins on all the need for diffusion of knowledge and virtue among the poorer classes and co-operation with an enlightened system of education. Shelley was a staunch believer in the omnipotence of Education (like Godwin and Paine). [2] His socialism becomes more prominent in Shelley's "Address to the People " on " The Death of Princess Charlotte " (1817) by the " Hermit of Marlow" with its suggestive motto " We pity the plumage but forget the dying bird " taken from Paine's " Rights of Man, " Part I. Only one sentence from its section VIII must suffice for our present occasion where he attacks the unjust incidence on the poorer classes of the National [3] Debt. " The effect," Shelley says, " of this system is, that the day-labourer gains no more now by working 16 hours a day than

[1] *Cf.* Shelley's 2nd Irish pamphlet (pub. probably on 2nd March, 1812) to unite philanthropists in the work of Irish regeneration by organising a " society of peace and love (*vide* Letter No. 122. Ingpen's ed., p. 257, foot-note).

[2] *Cf.* Paine's practical scheme proposed in Ch. V Part, II, of his " Rights of Man," p. 252, Everyman's Library edition.

[3] *Cf.* Paine's " Rights of Man," Part I, p. 120, Everyman's Library edition.

he gained before by working 8. The abourer, he that tills the ground and manufactures cloth, is the man who has to provide, out of what he would bring home to his wife and children, for the luxuries and comforts of those whose claims are represented by an annuity of 44 millions a year levied upon the English nation." The alternatives with which the whole nation is thus confronted according to Shelley are "a despotism, a revolution, or reform."

Shelley's sensitive nature was shocked by the horrors of oppression, grinding poverty, dirt, filth, moral degradation, intellectual degeneration and helplessness and hopelessness into which he actually saw the Irish people sunk while[1] staying in Dublin in 1812. In his letter to Miss Hitchener of 10th March, 1812, he gives several typical instances adding that he was sick of that city and longed to be with her (in Wales) and peace. "The rich grind," he says, "the poor into abjectness, and then complain that they are abject. They goad them to famine, and hang them if they steal a loaf." Yet Shelley is determined—"This nation shall awaken." Shelley's prophecy, we now realise, has taken a little over a century to be fulfilled!

[1] *Cf.* "Shelley's Early Life" by D. F. MacCarthy for Shelley's Irish political campaign.

(To be continued)

JAYGOPAL BANERJEE

Reviews

"ऋग्वेदालोचन"—प्रथम प्रकाश and द्वितीय प्रकाश by Naradeva Sastri, Vedatīrtha. Published by the Santi Press, Agra (U. P.). Price Re. 1-12. The get-up of the book is tolerable.

The author states in the Preface that he is a Rigvedi Brāhman, and that much of his time and energy has been devoted to the study of the Rigveda only. He is a disciple of late Acharya Satyavrata Sāmaśrami, late University Lecturer on Vedic Literature in the Calcutta University. The author gratefully acknowledges whatever he knows of the Vedas ; he learnt it from that venerable Pandit. It appears that some of the principal subjects treated of in the Rigveda have been discussed in this small treatise. The Rigveda is a very big work. The treatment of the subjects discussed in the work is necessarily concise. In some cases, we feel that more texts could have been cited from the Rigveda to support the conclusion. The author rightly states that he has hardly left out any theory or shade of opinion propounded either by oriental or occidental scholars. In support of the above statement of the author, we cite the following passage from the book, p. 200 :—

"व्याकरणशास्त्र का बीज—

चत्वारि शृङ्गा (ऋ० ४-५७-३)

भाषा शास्त्र का बीज—

चत्वारि वाक् (ऋ० १-१६४-३५)

मीमांसा तथा न्याय बीज—

हृदा तुयेषु (ऋ० १०-७१-७)

वैशेषिक का बीज—

तमदासीत् (ऋ० १०-१२९)

सांख्ययोग का बीज—

द्वा सुपर्णा (ऋ० १-१६४-२०)

वेदान्त का बीज—

ऋचो अक्षरे (ऋ० १-१६४-३९)

वेदाहमेतं (यह अ० ३३-१३)"

The author abundantly shows that he possesses correct knowledge of the Rigvedic literature written by scholars of the East and West. We fail

to ascertain whether he has read "Rigvedic Culture" written by Dr. Abinash Chandra Das of the Calcutta University. In this work Dr. Das gives a vivid description of the Rigvedic Culture. We are decidedly of opinion that this is a highly readable book. We can safely recommend it to scholars carrying on researches on the Rigveda.

A. GUHA

Indigenous Indian Banking. By M. S. M. Gubbay. D. B. Taraporewala Sons & Co., Bombay. Price Rs. 1-12-0, pp. 52.

This is a reprint of Mr. Gubbay's paper read before the Royal Society of Arts, London. The short and stimulating paper though written in a pessimistic vein points out the difficulties of creating a money market and superimposing a Central Bank to act as an authority controlling credit as well as currency. Incidentally he explains his own reason, which was of course long ago pointed out in another way by the late Sir Bernard Hunter, for the inability of the Indian Joint-Stock Banks to extend their branches. It covers in all 18 pages but the exhaustive discussion covers practically the remaining pages. All possible subjects in the field of credit such as hoarding, the use of cheques, the popularity of bill discounting and its usefulness are referred to. The President ably sums up the discussion and points out how the above problems can be successfully tackled. But in spite of this very cheerful outlook, it must be admitted, that for a long time to come there would be a large number of financial transactions in the bazaar which would not be brought within the ambit of the banking machinery. So long as this situation would prevail credit control by a Central Bank would be ineffective. But undoubtedly there would be an improvement in the present-day situation were a Central Bank to attempt to regulate credit so as to avoid an excess or shortage of it at any one moment. We have nothing but praise to offer to the enterprising book-sellers for printing this essay. The price is entirely prohibitive and if the firm is interested in the advancement of learning it ought to make it available at a far lower price.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

Ourselves

I

Award of Three Fellowships to Distinguished Indian Scholars made by the German Academy of Munich for the Academic Year, 1929-30

We announced in our June issue the generous offer made by the German Academy of Munich of three scholarships to Indian students for Post-Graduate Studies in the University of Munich and the Higher Technical School (of Engineering) of Munich. In this connection we are glad to publish the following communication from the President of the Munich Academy, dated Munich, the 1st of August, 1929. It is a very happy sign of growing international *cultural* relation that facilities should thus be extended to Indian students by German centres of learning and culture and the ready response given by Indian students shows unmistakably how keenly educated India feels the need and importance of Indo-German cultural co-operation and appreciates the value of the Munich offer. India cannot afford to remain in a state of cultural isolation at a time when the whole world is moving fast and we gratefully acknowledge our sense of indebtedness to the Munich Academy for having with such foresight taken the initiative in a matter so momentous. We earnestly appeal to the cultured Indian public to make organised efforts to secure a close touch with the world of higher education and culture outside India by taking a living interest in all activities calculated to pull down the barriers between their country and the larger world, to help thoughtful Indians in realising the highest aspirations of the Greater India yet to be and now in the making. This noble object may also be furthered by an arrangement for the interchange of Professors between Indian Universities and those of Germany and organisation of special

courses of lecture on Indian literature, philosophy and art to be delivered by competent Indians at the German Universities for which a fund should be created.

" DEAR SIR,

With great pleasure we beg to announce to the Indian public and especially to those who have co-operated with us in giving publicity to our offer of *Three Scholarships to Indian students for Post-Graduate work in the Munich University and the Higher Technical School*, that we are gratified with the splendid response from a large number of worthy applicants.

We received eighty-four (84) applications—8 for the Medical Fellowship, 10 for Physics, 35 for Chemistry, 28 for Engineering, 2 unclassified and 1 special application; 23 came too late. Many of the applicants have already considerable experience in research work in their respective fields. The applicants represented a large number of institutions of higher learning—London University, Glasgow University, Jowa State College, Calcutta University, College of Engineering and Technology of Bengal, Allahabad University, Lucknow University, Agra University, Hindu University at Benares, Muslim University at Aligarh, Bombay University, Punjab University, Madras University, Delhi University, Rangoon University, Mysore University, Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore, University of Rio-de Janeiro and others.

From a careful examination of the applications, by a committee of experts, we have come to the conclusion that the majority of the applications are of exceptional qualifications. This fact has made it very difficult for the Committee to select successful candidates for the three scholarships. After mature deliberation, the Committee has made the following award :

1. The Medical Fellowship has been awarded to Dr. Girindranath Mukhopadhyay, M.D., of Calcutta University, who is to carry on special research on the subject of Gynaecology under Prof. Dr. Doederlein, Munich University.

2. The Fellowship on Physics or Chemistry has been awarded to Mr. Kalipada Basu, M.Sc., of Dacca University, who is to carry on special research on Biological Chemistry under Prof. Dr. Sommerfeld, Munich University.

3. The Engineering Fellowship has been awarded to Mr. Srigunacharan Sen, Instructor of Mechanical Engineering of the National College of Engineering and Technology of Bengal, who will carry on his Post-Graduate studies in the "Technische Hochschule" of Munich.

We hope that these scholars will prove to be a credit to India and German institutions of higher learning.

As the economic value of these scholarships is very insignificant, yet when we find that so many worthy Indian scholars have applied for them, we cannot but feel that Indian scholars cherish a feeling of respect for "German culture." If we are correct in our estimate on this point, we, on behalf of the German cultural world, wish to extend our deepest appreciation to the Indian cultural world.

In this connection we may say that German scholars, through their works, have shown adequate evidence of their appreciation of the cultural heritage of the people of India, whose contribution to the world culture is immense. Is it too much to expect that through mutual co-operation, there will arise better cultural understanding between India and Germany, which in turn will promote better understanding between the East and the West?

We shall be very happy to hear from those Indians (especially those who have studied in German institutions of learning) who wish to co-operate with us in our efforts to promote cultural understanding between India and Germany.

Very respectfully,
FRIEDRICH *von* MÜLLER,
President of 'Die Deutsche Akademie.'
RESIDENZ, *Munich (Germany)*."

* * *

Mr. M. M. Bhattacharjee

We are glad to publish the following appreciation of Mr. M. M. Bhattacharjee's "Studies in Spenser." Mr. Bhattacharjee is a Post-Graduate Lecturer in the English Department.

"Dear Sir,

I beg to acknowledge with many thanks the copy of Mr. Bhattacharjee's 'Studies in Spenser. It was addressed to me at the University of Wales, Aberystwyth, where I ceased to be Professor 28 years ago, but has reached me here. I have looked through the book, and am much impressed by the writer's mastery both of Spenser and of Platonic conceptions, illustrating once more the aptitude often observed in the Indian mind for entering into Western and especially Platonic philosophical ideas, as a rule less easily mastered by English minds.

I trust that this remarkable contribution to the higher study of a great English poet may do something to enlarge the body of common culture and common intellectual ideals in which our two peoples may eventually find a true comradeship within our common humanity.

Yours very truly,

C. H. Herford."

* * *

Dr. Surendranath Sen

1. The Syndicate have recommended to the Senate that Dr. Surendranath Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B.Lit., be appointed a Reader of this University to deliver a course of lectures on "the History of the Mahratta Navy" during the session 1930-31, on an honorarium of Rs. 1,000.

* * *

THE JUBILEE RESEARCH PRIZE IN SCIENCE FOR 1927.

2. The Jubilee Research Prize in Science for 1927 has been awarded to Nisikanta Ray for his thesis on "Water-Supply in Bengal with special reference to the Question of Tube-Wells and their Cost."

* * *

THE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE MEDAL IN LETTERS FOR 1928.

The value of the Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Medal in Letters for 1928 has been divided equally among the following four candidates who have been recommended for the medal :—

Name.	Name of Thesis.
Sukumarranjan Dasgupta, M.A.	Calendar and Seasons of the Hindus.
Anilkumar Raychaudhuri	The Concept of Maya.
M. Tahir Jamil, M.A., M.R.A.S.	Shelley as a Thinker.
Prithwischandra Chakravarti, M.A.	Archery in Ancient India.

* * *

THE COATES MEDAL FOR THE YEAR 1929.

The Coates Medal for 1929 has been awarded to Dr. Kedarnath Das, C.I.E., M.D.

* * *

RESULT OF THE PRELIMINARY EXAMINATION IN LAW, JULY, 1929.

The number of candidates registered for the Preliminary Examination in Law, held in July, 1929, was 1,017, of whom 436 passed, 260 failed, none was expelled and 291 were absent.

Of the successful candidates 21 were placed in Class I and 455 placed in Class II. The percentage of pass was 64·18.

* * *

Result of the Intermediate Examination in Law, July, 1929.

The number of candidates registered for the Intermediate Examination in Law, held in July, 1929, was 581, of whom 246 passed, 227 failed, none was expelled and 104 were absent.

Of the successful candidates 11 were placed in Class I and 235 placed in Class II. The percentage of pass was 52.

* * *

Result of the Final Examination in Law, July, 1929.

The number of candidates registered for the Final Examination in Law, held in July, 1929, was 1,168, of whom 635 passed, 295 failed, 1 was expelled and 237 were absent.

Of the successful candidates 59 were placed in Class I, and 576 placed in Class II. The percentage of pass was 68·2.

* * *

Result of the D. P. H. Examination, Part I, August, 1929.

The number of candidates registered for the D.P.H. Examination, Part I, held in August, 1929, was 4, of whom 3 passed and 1 failed.

* * *

MAHARAJA SIR MANINDRACHANDRA NANDI

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AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF SCOTTISH ARCHITECTURE.

I. From the Earliest Times to the Reformation.

Close to Dublin is Glasnevin, a place of many memories. Here it was that Saint Columba lived as a recluse, ere yet he had come to have the conviction, that the true duty of an earnest religionist lies in going forth on active service for his faith. It was in 563 A.D. that the Irish Saint crossed the sea to Scotland, and the event stands out as one of the greatest in the annals of the country. For while it is true that, before Columba's advent, Christianity was already in some degree known in the realm, the coming of the Saint from Glasnevin held prodigious moment for Scottish art.

After settling in Scotland, Columba did not by any means lose touch with his home country. Accordingly, the influence of Ireland upon Scotland grew strong, and the 8th century was the golden age with the Irish school of artists. They were largely preoccupied with carvings in stone, as also with decoration of sacred manuscripts. And alike in the former sphere and

the latter, they were dominated by the formula known as Celtic, which consists in series of interlacing lines. In 844 A.D. there was crowned the first King of a United Scotland, Kenneth Mac-Alpine ; and the 9th, 10th and 11th centuries were the great epoch of the Scottish school in art in the Celtic mode. Salient among ancient Irish works are round-towers in stone, so that buildings of that class came to be raised in Scotland likewise, about the day of King Kenneth. There is one standing yet at Abernethy, which dates from the early eight-hundreds ; there is another of slightly later time at Brechin ; and in either case the structure is in height, say 70 feet, but in circumference at base, hardly 20. In the era under review, it was the way with monastic communities in Scotland, to erect a cluster of wooden edifices, with a stone tower proximate, which served as a belfry, and as a place for keeping watch. Considering the beauty which was achieved by the Scottish school, in their Celtic carvings on brooches and crosses, marking too the skill of those artists in the illumination of manuscripts, it cannot be doubted that architectural excellence was sometimes attained, in the timber halls of prayer which have long since gone into the night. And there is another good reason for assuming that these bygone fanes were frequently beautiful.

About the end of the 11th century, when the glittering age of Scottish Celtic art was nearing its close, there lived in France an ecclesiastic, Bertrand d'Abbeville, who somewhat recalls Columba. Like the missionary of Glasnevin, Père Bertrand was practical. And consequently he founded a monastic order, whose members went out to ply ordinary secular craft, through the day, and at eventide returned to their cloistered home, the usual asceticism of monks being espoused by these men. In 1124 A.D., David I was crowned king of Scotland ; he was vastly concerned with religion, and a big number of the Scottish abbeys were founded by him. Admiring the practical outlook of Père Bertrand, the monarch contrived to bring to Scotland, some monks of the Frenchman's new order, and the craft

practised by certain of these immigrants was building. At the time they settled in their new home, the Norman formula reigned over hieratic architecture in France. And if the coming of these people was not the sole factor, which brought that style into Scotland, from early in the 12th century till well into the 14th the fine churches raised on Scottish soil were in the Norman manner.

If a garden bears a lordly harvest of flowers, it must have yielded fair blossoms before, nor do schools of art step of a sudden to lofty exploits. The second reason for the assumption, that beauty was reached in some of the vanished buildings of about Kenneth MacAlpine's day, lies in the excellence of the early places in the Norman mode. For unless a very considerable skill had existed with the Scottish architects on the eve of David's accession, the fanes afterwards could not have been the lovely things they are. In likelihood the oldest of them is St. Margaret's Chapel, Edinburgh, whose elevation has the look of having passed through no change since the original construction. The churches of Dalmeny, Duddingston and Iona, have all undergone, in varying degree, alteration since they were first raised. But like St. Margaret's, they are glorious souvenirs. Art is at zenith, only when it is distinctive or national ; and it was the triumph of the Scottish school, that they came to employ in a way eminently their own, the Norman fashion which they had learned from overseas. Architecture is at apogee when the buildings, besides being of merit in themselves, loom an absolutely natural part of their environment, as though they had grown up like trees or flowers. And if ever that guise was achieved, it was in the Scottish churches of near the time of King David I.

In the Middle Ages, large hieratic establishments commonly acquired their architectural character gradually, part after part being added, in accordance with the need of greater size in the edifice. Doubtless that is why, in the abbey of Kelso, there are seen alike the round arches of the Norman mode, and the

pointed arches of the Gothic. The same duality is observed in the cathedral of St. Andrews, while the abbeys of Dryburgh, Holyrood and Jedburgh are likewise partly Norman, partly Gothic. It was about the middle of the thirteen-hundreds, that the former style ceased to be used, the pointed manner becoming the invariable one for sacred edifices ; and the 15th century was the halcyon day, of Scottish ecclesiastical architecture in Gothic. The friendship which David I had inaugurated, between his dominions and France, proved itself a long-lived and far-reaching affair. For the desperate fray which Mediæval Scotland was called on to fight, against the aggressions of England, necessarily made the Scottish nation evolve the friendship above-named, into a strong political alliance with France. Early in the fourteen-hundreds the French poet, Alain Chartier, gave an oration, in which he spoke of the sentiments implied by the Franco-Scottish league, as positively inborn in the hearts of the people, in either of the two countries involved. And naturally, therefore, in the Middle Ages the Scottish architects in Gothic reflected the influence of France, although debt to Spain and Portugal was also revealed by those men.

The buildings which have been spoken of, as embodying two different modes in architecture, are in each case in ruins. So also is the abbey of Melrose, whose remains are purely Gothic, this place being generally viewed as the supreme relic of the great period of Scotland in the pointed manner. A beautiful Gothic fane of the mid-fourteen-hundreds, which has passed through but little alteration outwardly, is St. Mary's Church, Whitekirk. And the elevation of the chapel of King's College, Aberdeen, whose construction was started in 1500, would seem to present yet, almost its initial aspect. The serried crown of St. Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh, was rebuilt in 1648, the architect duplicating then, a work of the great era in Gothic, and a spendid thing this rebuilt crown is. But the actual body of the cathedral in question dates only from the 19th century, which epoch, with the opening years of the 20th, looked upon

copious endeavour in the rehabilitation of the shattered Mediæval houses of worship. What was the nature of domestic architecture in Scotland, in the days when Norman and Gothic churches were first built in the country ?

In the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries, the castles were generally if not always, simple towers of square circumference. Towards the close of the last-named cycle, Scottish architects commenced to build fortified domains, which were much larger than the square towers, and which enclosed courtyards. These new and more ambitious strongholds were as a rule, if not invariably, perched on eminences by the waterside ; and through their having these romantic sites, the buildings constitute in some cases, noble spectacles, among the grandest being Tantallon Castle. When the invention of gunpowder made it virtually impossible, to depend fortresses against attack, the French school gave up the raising of those edifices, and started instead to build châteaux in the form called French Domestic Gothic. In the Middle Ages, Scotland had close commercial friendship with the Low Countries ; for these realms were vastly concerned with the weaving of tapestry, and the wool used came largely if not exclusively from the Scottish mountains. Thus it happened that, before the 15th century was over, architects in Scotland began to build manorial homes in a fresh style, in which they mingled the influence of France, their political ally, with that of the Low Countries, their commercial friend. If the Norman mode for churches had been employed distinctively in Scotland, so also did her new, manorial fashion become a thing, essentially national. And it was therefore rightly it acquired the name Scottish Baronial.

In the châteaux in French Domestic Gothic there are at various corners, rounded towers surmounted by cones. Scottish Baronial look from the French formula at issue, towers of that description, together with dormer windows and high-pitched roofs ; while from the Low Countries it derived gables adorned with series of notches, an embellishment usually called crowsteps.

The buildings in the fresh mode in Scotland, sometimes had one or two turrets, being a souvenir of the castellated or defensible style. And those buildings inclined to be tall in the relative sense, this trait giving them rather an austere look. Pitcaple, Falkland and Holyrood Palace, are fine examples of Scottish Baronial, which were erected in the fourteen-hundreds, although each of these places has been much amplified since then. And from the second half of the next century, dates the Canongate Tolbooth, Edinburgh, which is not only an exquisite work in the manner, but has undergone practically no change. In the times which witnessed the construction of these remarkable buildings, the typical fabrics in towns were of great height. Frequently, a house in a city had two gables, one being parallel with the street, the other towards it. The dwellings were joined together, and the streets were narrow, the courts opening off them. But if the general effect was somewhat gloomy, it was nevertheless exceedingly picturesque.

Early in the 16th century, the Classic or Renaissance style in architecture began to pass from Italy into France. And, in consequence, the fifteen-hundreds were not old, when there started to reach Scotland from her political ally, that mode which the French has learned from the Italians. It soon grew comparatively common with the Scottish school, to bestow on existing buildings which were in Mediæval form, additions which were in the Renaissance manner, these being sometimes external, and sometimes within. For example, at the royal castle of Stirling, a room was decorated with medallion-portraits carved in oak ; and the outside of the place in Edinburgh, known as John Knox's House, was embellished with pilasters, urns and sculptured wreaths. But whilst the fashions of the Middle Ages were being in this way competed with, by the Antique formulæ which Italy had received, an appalling storm was brewing in Scotland. And when, in 1561, Mary, Queen of the Scots, returned from her French sojourn to her home country, she found herself confronted with the Reformation. No thought

had the Protestants of being gentle, and they it was who wrecked the abbeys, they also who tore down the cathedrals, so rich in the sense of mystery, and the feeling of aspiration. Ere yet Queen Mary went to the scaffold in 1587, the power of the Catholic Church was broken in her realms. How would architecture fare, after this huge change ?

W. G. Blaikie Murdoch

INDIAN RAILWAYS, 1925-28.

III. Financial Results

The gross earnings, and consequently the financial results of Indian railways are intimately bound up with the general conditions of trade and agricultural produce, which again are dependent on rainfall. In 1925 the monsoon was somewhat defective and the aggregate rainfall was 4 per cent. below normal over the plains of India as a whole. Agriculture was not very successful and wheat crop was 10 per cent. below that in the previous year. There was consequently little or no movement of wheat for export. A general improvement in coaching traffic however, prevented gross earnings from falling heavily. In 1926, although the monsoon was somewhat late, it gave widely distributed rain and better conditions prevailed than in the previous year. In some parts, *e.g.*, in Burma and on the East Coast line, excessive rain caused serious interruptions to traffic, but on the whole there was a revival of movement in most commodities during the last months of the year. Amongst the principal crops, on which railway traffic largely depends, there was a serious falling off in cotton, a marked increase in jute, and an advance in tea. Wheat and other crops were fairly normal and compared with the previous year, a definite increase in the traffic followed. The monsoon of 1927 was on the whole normal, although rainfall was in great defect in South-West Punjab, and there were floods in Gujerat and Orissa, causing extensive damages and serious interruption to traffic on some main lines. There were marked increases in the cotton crop, jute, wheat, rice, oilseeds and tea. Taken all round 1927-28 was a most profitable year for the Railways.

The following table gives an idea of the conditions of trade during the last four years. Figures for internal movements are no longer compiled in India, and only those for foreign trade are available.

	Exports and Imports of General Merchandise in India in Crores of Rupees.			
	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28
Exports of General Merchandise ...	385	375	301	319
Imports of Private Merchandise ...	246·5	226	231	250
Visible balance of trade in Merchandise and Treasure ...	61	109	40	50.

Of the important agricultural products that affect railway traffic largely, the export figures were as follows :—

	1924-25 (1000s tons.)	1925-26 (1000s tons.)	1926-27 (1000s tons.)	1927-28 (1000s tons.)
1. Raw Cotton ...	594	745	569	480
2. Raw Jute ...	696	647	708	892
3. Wheat ...	1,112	212	176	300
4. Rice ...	2,301	2,577	2,035	2,152.

In tea and oilseeds, moreover, there was substantial rise in exports in 1927-28 over the previous years.

In imports the share of the different commodities fluctuated greatly, particularly in sugar, iron, and steel, machinery, mineral oil, and cotton, raw and manufactured.

The following table gives an idea of the relative importance of different main classes of railways in India in 1927-28 :

Class of Railway.	Route Mileage opened on 31st March, 1928.	Capital at Charge[1] (Lakhs Rs.)	Net Earnings (Rs. 1000s)
I. State Lines worked by State ...	13,737	43,353	2,11,421
II. ,, ,, ,, Companies ...	14,759	29,535	1,82,428
III. Branch Lines, Companies' Railway ...	2,512	1,813	14,261
IV. Companies' Lines subsidised by Govt. ...	2,219	1,864	18,749
V. Lines owned or subsidized by District Boards ...	577	315	3,263
VI. Lines owned or guaranteed by Indian States. ...	5,744	4,466	27,768
VII. Unassisted Companies' Lines ...	70	39	129
VIII. Lines in Foreign Territory ...	74	215	1,265
IX. Miscellaneous, *e.g.*, Port Trust line ...	19	229	3
Total (including other items excluded) ...	39,712	82,286	4,59,287

[1] Total Capital outlay in case of other than State-owned railways. Administration Report, 1927-28, Vol. II, p. 8.

The following summary of Capital at Charge (in case of State-owned railways) and Capital Outlay (on other railways) together with revenue earnings and expenses shows the financial results of Indian railways during the last three years.

Class of Railway	Year.	Route Mileage open.	Total Capital outlay on open lines and lines under constn. (Lakhs Rs.)	Gross Earnings. (Lakhs Rs.)	Working Expenses. (Lakhs Rs.)	Net Earnings. (Lakhs Rs.)	Operating Ratio.	Percentage of Net on total Capital at charge.
Class I ...	1925-26	34,696	729,98	109,68	68,72	40,96	62·7	5·61
	1926-27	35,132	758,03	108,72	67,28	41,44	61·9	5·47
	1927-28	35,587	791,36	114,37	69,84	44,52	61·1	5·63
Class II ...	1925-26	2,977	20,08	3,13	1,96	1,17	62·6	5·82
	1926-27	2,775	21,10	2,99	1,97	1,02	65·7	4·86
	1927-28	2,953	21,85	3,19	1,97	1,22	61·8	5·57
Class III ...	1925-26	907	4,26	58	41	17	69·9	4·10
	1926-27	1,142	4,98	64	45	19	70·6	3·78
	1927-28	1,171	5,00	67	48	19	71·9	3·66
Total State-owned Railways.	1925-26	27,430	670.58	99,20	63,41	35,79	63·9	5·34
	1926-27	28,004	696,52	98,62	62,39	36,23	63·3	5·20
	1927-28	28,425	728,88	104,30	64,92	39,38	62·2	5·40
Total Other ...	1925-26	11,150	83,73	14,19	7,68	6,51	54·1	7·78
	1926-27	11,045	85.33	13,73	7,30	6,43	53·2	7·53
	1927-28	11,285	87,12	13,92	7,37	6,54	53·0	7·51
Total (including Miscellaneous)	1925-26	38,579	754,31	113,39	71,09	42,30	62·7	5·61
	1926-27	39,049	788,67	112.36	69,70	42,66	62·0	5·41
	1927-28	39,712	822,86	118,22	72,29	45,93	61 2	5·58

It will be seen from the above that the financial returns on the capital at charge or expended on various classes of railways had an all-round depression in 1926-27, and with revival of agricultural conditions in the latter part of that year and in 1927-28, the position had greatly improved. In 1928-29 some amount of the large crop production of the previous year remained to be carried and traffic was brisk in the earlier months. The failure of monsoon rain in the west of the United Provinces and the east of the Punjab, together with strikes at Bombay and at Tatanagore, however, soon caused adverse effects on railway traffic, and some of the increased earnings could not be retained. In the latter months of 1928-29 traffic again showed bright signs, and on the whole it was hoped that the total earnings would be slightly above 1927-28.

Taking into account only those railways with which the Government of India is directly concerned, the following table gives the financial results to the State from working Indian railways :

Financial Results to the State :

(In Lakhs of Rupees)

		1925-26	1926-27	1927-28
I	(*a*) Gross earnings ...	9,970	9,904	10,424
	(*b*) Surplus profits from Subsidized Companies	35	40	36
	(*c*) Interest on Depreciation and Reserve Funds	54	64	82
	(*d*) Other Miscellaneous Railway receipts	1	5	8
	Total Receipts	10,060	10,012	10,550
II.	(*a*) Working expenses (excluding Depreciation)	5,375	5,351	5,387
	(*b*) Depreciation	1,067	1,089	1,136
	(*c*) Surplus profits paid to Companies ...	177	166	157
	(*d*) Land and Subsidy to Companies ...	4	5	5
	(*e*) Interest	2,481	2,587	2,718
	(*f*) Miscellaneous Railway Expenditure...	26	66	50
	Total Expenditure	9,131	9,263	9,455
III.	Net Gain	928	750	1,094
IV.	(*a*) Contribution to General Revenues ...	549	601	631
	(*b*) Surplus transferred to Railway Reserve	399	149	464
	Total gain to State	928	750	1,094

The total net gain to the State in 1924-25 was Rs. 1,316 Lakhs. There was a falling off in 1925-26, principally on account of decline in earnings, increase in working expenses, and enhanced interest charges. The same reasons accounted for a further fall in 1926-27. The satisfactory result in 1927-28 was due mainly to a large increase in earnings without a corresponding addition to working expenses. The increase under "depreciation" and "interest charges" following large additions to capital deserves notice.

The probable results, as determined in the revised estimate, of 1928-29 were that the total receipts from commercial lines would amount to Rs. 105,73 lakhs, an increase of Rs. 1,86 lakhs over 1927-28. The total charges on commercial lines would increase by about Rs. 369 lakhs, above last year, to Rs. 9,502 lakhs, mainly due to (*a*) increased expenditure under administration caused through the staffing of new lines, handling of larger traffic and special grant of gratuities to some workmen on the transfer of certain workshops, (*b*) increased expenditure on repairs and operating and (*c*) increased interest charges and payments to depreciation fund resulting from large additions to capital. Of the net surplus of Rs. 1,071 lakhs from commercial lines, general revenues received Rs. 546 lakhs, Rs. 180 lakhs would be required to meet the loss on strategic lines, and the balance of Rs. 345 would be placed on the Railway Reserve Fund. The balances in the Reserve Fund and the Depreciation Fund, at the end of 1928-29 would amount to Rs. 1,930 lakhs and Rs. 1,151 lakhs respectively.

Taking into account the capital at charge of both commercial and strategic lines the percentage net surplus on the total capital at charge on State-owned railways, during the five years ending 1927-28, were as follows : [1]

[1] These figures are slightly at variance with those given in a previous table, on account of the inclusion of certain 'miscellaneous' and 'other' items. The strategic lines accounted for Rs. 3,442 lakhs of capital or 4·4 per cent. of total State capital at charge, and 24·3 per cent. of capital at charge on N. W. Railway in 1927-28. The loss on these lines was Rs. 2 crores or nearly 20 per cent. of the net surplus to the State.

1922-23.....4·38	1925-26.....5·31
1923-24.....5·24	1926-27.....5·05
1924-25.....5·85	1927-28.....5·41

IV. Traffic Results.

A. Passengers. The following table gives the Summary of Passenger Traffic from 1925-1928 on all Indian railways :

		1925-26	1926-27	1927-28
I.	Number of Passengers originating (in thousands)[1]			
	(*a*) 1st Class	1,033	1,012	980
	(*b*) 2nd ,, ...	9,901	10,006	9,963
	(*c*) Inter ,, ...	13,602	14,945	17,351
	(*d*) 3rd ,, ...	574,608	578,409	591,821
	Total	599,145	604,372	623,115
II.	Passenger-miles (in millions)			
	(*a*) 1st Class	111	118	129
	(*b*) 2nd ,, ...	382	420	479
	(*c*) Inter ,, ...	623	678	762
	(*d*) 3rd ,, ...	19,215	19,150	20,334
	Total	20,332	20,366	21,704
III.	Average Miles of Passenger-Journey			
	(*a*) 1st Class	108	117	131
	(*b*) 2nd ,, ...	39	42	48
	(*c*) Inter ,, ...	46	45	44
	(*d*) 3rd ,, ...	33·4	33·7	34·8
	Total	33·9	33·7	34·8
IV.	Earnings from Passengers (in Lakhs)[1]			
	(*a*) 1st Class	1,20	1,18	1,14
	(*b*) 2nd ,, ...	1,89	1,88	1,96
	(*c*) Inter ,, ...	1,60	1,62	1,69
	(*d*) 3rd ,, ...	34,77	33,44	34,39
	Total	39,46	38,12	39,18

[1] The number and earnings of Seasons and Vendor's tickets are included under the respective classes, the former at the rate of 50 single journeys per month.

V. Average rate charged per Passenger-mile (in pies)

(a) 1st Class	20·8	19·1	17·0
(b) 2nd ,, ...	9·5	8·6	7·8
(c) Inter ,, ...	4·9	4·6	4·3
(d) 3rd ,, ...	3·47	3·35	3·25
Total	3·73	3·59	3·47

From 1927-28 the number and earnings from Season and Vendor's ticket holders are not separately shown, and are included under their respective heads. This has made the Indian passenger traffic statistics less useful than before for purposes of comparison with other countries where suburban traffic is recorded separately. The following two tables show to what extent the figures for Season and Vendor's ticket-holders affect the statistics :—

Number of Passengers Carried (in Millions).

Year.	1st Class.		2nd Class.		Inter Class.		3rd Class.	
	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)
1923-24	·6	1	4	10	7	11	485	545
1924-25	·6	1	4	10	8	12	496	553
1925-26	·6	1	4	10	9	14	515	575
1926-27	·6	1	4	10	10	15	516	573

(a) Exclusive of Season and Vendor's Tickets.
(b) Inclusive of Season and Vendor's Tickets.

Earnings from Passengers (in Lakhs Rupees).

Year.	1st Class.		2nd Class.		Inter Class.		Third Class.	
	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)
1923-24	1,30	1,31	1,96	2,03	1,38	1,41	32,92	33,33
1924-25	1,22	1,23	1,86	1,92	1,44	1,48	33,74	34,12
1925-26	1,19	1,20	1,83	1,89	1,56	1,60	34,36	34,77
1926-27	1,17	1,18	1,82	1,88	1,58	1,62	33,02	33,45

(a) Exclusive of, and (b) inclusive of—Season and Vendor's ticket earnings.

The strengthening of the financial position resulting from the separation of railway from general finances and the good years in 1923-24 and 1924-25 enabled the railways to consider reductions in rates and fares during the last three years. In January, 1926, the Bengal, Nagpore, East Indian, and South Indian Railways made certain reductions in passenger fares. In 1926-27 most of the other railways followed the lead and in some of the former further reductions were made. Reductions are proceeding even now in 1929 in a more or less degree. The general policy adopted in these has been to stimulate higher class travel first of all, then long-distance lower class, and last of all an all-round reduction is contemplated. On some of the railways the difference between mail and ordinary train travel fares has been abolished by a reduction of the former.[1]

During 1927-28 18½ million more passengers were carried on class I railways than in 1926-27 and passenger earnings increased by Rs. I crore. The increase in earnings was partly due to the rise in the average number of miles a passenger was carried as a consequence of the reduction in long-distance fares, but the increase in both numbers and earnings is mainly attributable to the general stimulus given through reduction of fares.

Passenger traffic is also stimulated through various innovations and improvements in train services during recent years including increased running of express trains[2] introduction of lower class tourist cars, improved booking and handling arrangements at terminals and for '*melá*' or pilgrim traffic, duplicates and specials of various description, conducted tour and pilgrimage trains, and by railway publicity.

The problem of dealing with passenger travelling without tickets was noticed in 1923 to have become serious, and the Indian Railway Conference Association recommended that the

[1] The latest reduction in fares announced is that on the E. B. Railway by the introduction in 1929 of a telescopic scale with a view to encourage long-distance travel.—Ry. Budget Speech of the Hon'ble Member for Railways, 1929-30, p. 3.

[2] The E. I. Ry. is now running some purely third-class long-distance express trains and it is expected to have very encouraging results (March, 1929).

Railways Act should be amended with a view to strengthen the position of the railways in recovering fares and penalties from delinquent passengers. In 1924 more than two million persons were detected travelling without tickets and the amount collected from them was Rs. 25 lakhs. Various methods of strict supervision and travelling ticket inspection systems have thereafter been introduced. In August, 1926 the East Indian Railway brought in use the "crew system" of checking by which a crew of ticket checkers under a responsible supervisor accompanies each passenger train throughout its run. One ticket checker is posted to each coach and it is his duty to prevent any passenger entering the carriage without a proper ticket. He is further responsible for collecting the tickets before the passengers alight at their destination stations. The arrangement is also designed to prevent mis-appropriation of recoveries and to protect illiterate passengers against excess recoveries. The Eastern Bengal, G. I. P., and South Indian Railways have adopted the system for certain of their sections. The proposal to amend the Railway Act with a view to make travelling without ticket a cognisable offence did not receive the approval of the Central Advisory Council, who regarded this measure as the last resource. The "crew system" has been found effective to deal with persons travelling without tickets but how far it is ultimately to the interest of the railways to incur the large expenditure involved in it, together with the annoyance and perhaps delay caused to the vast number of innocent passengers, is doubtful.

Goods: The following table gives the Summary of goods traffic on all Indian Railways from 1925-26 to 1927-28:—

	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28
I. Tons of Goods carried (originating only) in millions.	80	86	90
II. Net Ton-miles (Millions)	19 900	20,376	21,902
III. Average miles a ton of Goods carried	249 2	237·4	24 3·9
IV. Earnings from Goods (in Lakh Rs.)	61,42	65,08	69,41
V. Average rate charged per ton-mile (in Pies)	5·22	6·12	6·08

The respective importance of Goods and Passenger Traffic in India is shown in the following statistics for all lines :

Earnings and Percentage to total of Goods and Passengers

	1925-26		1926-27		1927-28	
	Lakh of Rs.	Percentage.	Lakh of Rs.	Percentage.	Lakh of Rs.	Percentage.
I. Total Earnings ...	113,39	100	112,36	100	118,22	100
II. Earnings from Goods ...	64,83	57·1	65,36	58·2	69,58	58·9
III. Earnings from Passengers	39,49	34·8	38,13	33·9	39 8	33·1
IV. Parcels, Luggage and Miscellaneous. ...	9,07	8·1	8,87	7·9	9,46	8·0

The following table shows the nature of and the work done in connection with the four principal classes of goods traffic on Class I Railways only. The traffic on Class I Railways alone accounted for 95·7% of the total tonnage conveyed by all Railways, and 98·7% of the net-ton miles of freight in 1927-28. Consignments passing over two or more railways or two or more gauges of the same railway are taken as separate consignments in the totals given below :—

	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28
I. Tons carried (in Millions)—			
(a) General Merchandise and Live Stock ...	58·8	62·9	66·8
(b) Fuel for Public and Foreign Rys., etc. ...	22·2	25·1	27·0
(c) Fuel on Revenue Account ...	7·7	7·0	7·8
(d) Other Revenue Stores ...	12·6	12·7	11 0
TOTAL	101·2	107·7	112·6
II. Net Ton-Miles (in Millions)—			
(a) General Merchandise and Live Stock ...	11,118	11,332	12,139
(b) Fuel for Public and Foreign Rys., etc. ...	5,986	6,314	6,752
(c) Fuel on Revenue Account ...	1,848	1,743	1,987
(d) Other Revenue Stores ...	709	714	742
TOTAL	19,662	20,103	21,620

III. Average miles a ton was carried				
(a) General Merchandise and Live Stock	...	139·2	180·1	181·8
(b) Fuel for Public and Foreign Rys., etc.	...	270·2	252·0	249·9
(c) Fuel on Revenue Account	...	240·6	249·0	253·5
(d) Other Revenue Stores	...	56·2	56·2	67·5
TOTAL		194·2	186·7	192·0
IV. Earnings (in Lakhs Rs.)—				
(a) General Merchandise and Live Stock	..	50,70	50,86	54,12
(b) Fuel for Public and Foreign Rys., etc.	...	9,17	9,58	10,00
(c) Fuel on Revenue Account	...	2,02	2,04	2,89
(d) Other Revenue Stores	...	89	86	98
TOTAL		62,78	63,41	67,59
V. Average rate charged per ton mile (in Pies)—				
(a) General Merchandise and Live Stock	...	8·76	8·61	8·56
(b) Fuel for Public and Foreign Rys., etc.	...	2·94	2·91	2·84
(c) Fuel on Revenue Account	...	2·10	2·24	2·31
(d) Other Revenue Stores	...	2·40	2·31	2·54
TOTAL		5·18	6·05	6·00

In 1927-28 there was a large increase in earnings from goods traffic on all railways, particularly from oil-seeds, fuel, metallic ores and iron and steel.

In April 1926 the rates for long-distance coal were reduced by about 10% with a view to assist industries in Upper India. In 1927-28 and in 1928-29 certain anomalies in the charging of rates on state-managed railways, under new conditions of re-adjustment following the transfer of the East Indian and the G. I. P. Railways to state management were in process of removal. In addition to substantial reductions in passenger fares and charges for parcels and luggage, certain reductions in goods rates have been effected in recent years (1927-1929), principally in selected commodities like kerosine, petrol, manure and oilcake, forest products, fresh fruits and vegetables, and

long-distance coal, coke and patent fuel. When all these new rates are adopted the average rates charged on these commodities will be only 8 to 12% above pre-war rates, compared with 1913-14.[1]

In 1928-29 traffic in almost all classes of commodities had risen except coal. In quantity the total increase was estimated to be by 4% over 1927-28, agricultural products having risen by 5-10%. There was appreciable, though smaller increase in "miscellaneous smalls" and "miscellaneous full wagons," indicating the activity of internal trade. In coal the wagons loaded fell by about 4% but on account of increased average wagon load secured in 1928-29 the fall in volume would not be so large. Since the beginning of 1929 an unexpected situation has arisen through the import of a large quantity of foreign wheat into Calcutta, thereby causing a diversion of wagons to the port, and acute want of stock in the coal-fields, particularly for the despatch of coal to up-country mills.

The following table gives the originating traffic in principal commodities on Class I railways during 1925-26 to 1927-28.

Commodity.	1925-26		1926-27		1927-28	
	Tons million.	Lakh Rs.	Tons million.	Lakh Rs.	Tons million.	Lakh Rs.
1. Fuel for Public and Foreign Rys. ...	16·1	9,11	18·9	9,65	20·4	10,17
2. Materials and Stories on Revenue A/C ...	16·4	2,91	16·1	2,89	14·8	3,37
3. Wheat ...	1·6	2,12	1·8	2,53	1·8	2,62
4. Rice ...	4·7	4,42	4·1	3,85	4·4	4,11
5. Gram and Pulse and other grains. ...	3·0	4,19	3·1	4,35	3·0	4,15
6. Marble and Stones ...	3·3	94	3·0	88	3·3	1,02

[1] Budget Speech of Hon'ble Member for Railways and Commerce, Railway Budget, 1929-30.

Commodity.	1925-26		1926-27		1927-28	
	Tons million.	Lakh Rs.	Tons million.	Lakh Rs.	Tons million.	Lakh Rs.
7 Metallic Ores ...	2·3	1,07	2·5	1,04	3·0	1,35
8. Salt ...	1·3	1,74	1·4	1,89	1·5	1,98
9. Wood, unwrought ...	1·7	1,06	1·3	89	1·3	89
10. Sugar ...	0·8	1 85	0·8	1,88	·8	1,81
11. Oilseeds ...	2·5	3,69	2·4	3,43	2·7	4,15
12. Cotton, raw and manufactured	1·8	6,43	1·5	5,80	1·5	5,98
13. Jute, raw ...	0·9	1,23	1·2	1,78	1·2	1,70
14. Fodder ...	0·8	59	0·8	60	·8	60
15. Fruits and Vegetables, fresh ...	1·0	91	1·1	91	1·2	1,08
16. Iron and Steel, wrought ...	1·0	2,05	1·0	1,97	1·2	2,26
17. Kerosine Oil ...	0·9	1,91	0 9	2,04	1·1	2,26
18. Gur, Jagree, Mollases, etc. ...	0·7	1,06	0·8	1,19	0·8	1,15
19. Tobacco ...	0·3	68	0·3	66	0·3	69
20. Provisions ...	0·6	1,23	0·6	1,31	0·7	1,41
21. Military Stores ..	0·3	38	0·4	37	0·4	42
22. Railway Materials ...	3·6	70	8·3	1,20	9·9	1,51
23. Live Stock ...	0·2	73	0·2	69	0·2	68
24. Other Commodities ...	10·8	11,89	9·6	11,44	9·7	11,96
TOTAL	76·7	62,88	82·	6324	85·8	67,94

As regards density of traffic the Eastern Bengal Railway has the highest record for passengers, the passenger-mile per route-mile in 1927-28 being 1,061,000. In goods the East Indian Railway tops the list with 1,563,000 net ton-miles per route-mile. Of the metre gauge lines the South Indian Railway has the densest passenger traffic of more than 800,000 passenger-miles per route-mile, and the Burma Railways have the heaviest goods traffic, with about 420,000 net ton-miles per route-mile per annum.

The following table gives the density of traffic figures of Class I Railways, according to gauges :

Gauges.	Passenger-miles per annum per Route-mile.			Net Ton-miles per annum per Route-mile.		
	1925-1926 '000's.	1926-1927 '000's.	1927-1928 '000's.	1925-1926 '000's.	1926-1927 '000's.	1927-1928 '000's.
Broad ...	678	664	706	853	855	908
Metre ...	466	472	488	249	251	269
2 ft. and 2 ft. 6 in. ...	135	123	120	43	41	42
Total ...	562	558	587	567	572	608

V. Working Results.

From 1922-23 the statistics of Indian railways have been revised and made more scientific than before, and are being increasingly used as a check on the efficiency of working.

The operating ratio for different classes of railways and for all Indian lines have been given in a previous table under 'Financial Results.' Steady improvement is noticed in this respect. The earnings and working expenses per train-mile are shewn below :

	Gross Earnings per Train-mile Rs.			Working Expenses per Train-mile Rs.			Net Earnings per Train-mile Rs.		
	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28
Class I Railways	7·11	6·69	6·68	4·45	4·14	4·08	2·65	2·55	2·60
,, II ,,	5·24	4·87	5·07	3·28	3·20	3·13	1·16	1·67	1·94
Total All Rys.	6·99	6·58	6·58	4·38	4·08	4·02	2·61	2·50	2·56

It will be seen from these figures that although working expenses per train-mile have been reduced the net earnings have not steadily improved. This is due to the fluctuating nature of traffic on Indian railways, to which train-miles cannot always be closely adjusted.

The business handled and service performed by class I railways which carry nearly 97 per cent. of the total traffic of Indian railways are given below :

	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28
1. Passenger-miles (in millions) ...	19,512	19,668	21,908
2. Passenger train-miles ,, ...	84	89	94
3. Net Ton-miles ,, ...	19,662	20,103	21,620
4. Goods Train-miles ,, ...	66	65	68

The average through speeds of trains on Class I railways from start to finish inclusive of stoppage on route was as follows :—

Train-miles per train-hour.	Broad Gauge.			Metre Gauge.		
	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28
1. Passenger trains ...	19·5	19·9	20·1	16·1	16·2	16·3
2. Mixed trains ...	13·4	13·5	13·5	12·3	12·3	12·3
3. Goods trains, Main Line ...	9·7	10·1	10·2	9·0	9·2	9·4
4. Goods trains, Branch ...	8·9	9·1	9·0	9·5	9·7	9·6

The average load of trains in vehicles and wagons and in average number of tons in a goods train of Class I railways were :—

Average train load.	Broad Gauge.			Metre Gauge.		
	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28
1. Vehicles in Passenger trains...	17·0	17·1	17·1	18·3	18·1	18·3
2. Wagons (loaded and empty) in goods trains on main lines ...	46·1	47·0	48·2	40·3	40·5	41·5
3. Freight in Goods trains (tons) ...	372	381	390	156	157	164

As regards the time-keeping of passenger-trains, the heavy programme of renewals and improvements of permanent-way that have been undertaken in recent years seriously interfere

with punctual running. Yet the figures shown below indicate fair progress in this respect :

All Passenger Trains.	Broad Gauge. Feb. 1925	Feb. 1926	Feb. 1927	Jan. 1928	Metre Gauge. Feb. 1925	Feb. 1926	Feb. 1927	Jan. 1928
1. Percentage of trains arriving right time to number of trains run ...	61·0	71·8	73·6	77·8	64·9	70·5	68·2	65·6
2. Percentage of trains under 10 mins. late to number of trains run ...	19·3	16·4	15·4	12·5	12·8	11·2	13·4	12·1
3. Total of (1) and (2) above ...	80·3	88·2	89·0	90·3	77·7	81.	781·6	77·7

It may be of interest to note in this connection that, in India, there are more than ten long-distance through passenger-services over two or more railways maintained, each covering a journey of above 1,000 miles without necessitating any change. Two of these from Howrah to Peshawar and from Bombay to Peshawar extend over more than 1,500 miles.[1]

Further, a new standard of journey has been instituted by the introduction from 1926-27 of several luxurious trains run regularly in connection with overseas mail and other boat services. These trains, meant principally for highest-class tourist traffic, compare favourably with any of the most comfortable trains of the world. The provision of better services for lower class passengers has also been receiving attention, and although much improvement is needed in this direction the special arrangements made during recent years for handling pilgrim traffic, the introduction of third class express trains, conducted tour specials, pilgrim tourist cars, etc., deserve credit.

A mention should here be made of the arrangements by the East Indian Railway for dealing with the exceptionally large *mela* (fair) in the spring of 1927. The *Kumbh Mela*, as this pilgrimage is called occurs every 12 years, and the heavy

[1] From April the longest through train service in India covering about 2,500 miles was instituted between Mangalore and Peshawar, following upon the opening of the long-desired Kazipet-Ballarshat section of N. G. S. Ry.

work that the railway had to meet in the last gathering can be judged from the fact, that over a single line of a main and a branch to Hardwar, more than 692,000 inward and outward passengers had to be carried in 40 days about half being conveyed in 10 days. This necessitated the running of 143 inward and 206 outward special trains, and to ensure smooth working various preparations were made, including train-control at Hardwar, extra crossing stations, careful selection of staff, building of extra mela platforms and barriers, and the printing of special tickets with various coloured marks indicating the direction of journey. Coloured signs similar to those on the tickets enabled the illiterate passengers to know their proper platforms and trains and thereby quick handling of an otherwise troublesome traffic was greatly facilitated. Moreover, the traffic was worked by means of the "flow" system under which trains were run in one direction only for certain definite periods during the 24 hours. Extensive supervising, medical and sanitary arrangements were also made, and not a single goods wagon was used for the conveyance of pilgrims, special indents of passenger vehicle being made from different railways to meet with the exceptional demand. This was the first time that such efficient service was rendered to the lowest class pilgrim traffic and thanks are due to the efforts of the Railway Board and the East Indian Railway in the matter.

In the running of goods trains as well, various improvements have been effected in recent years, the most outstanding of which are the use of heavy engines with a view to haul heavier trains, and the extensive introduction of vacuum brake throughout each train. By the end of 1926-27 the majority of broad gauge goods trains in India were equipped with vacuum brakes throughout, and the percentage of goods trains run with full vacuum fitting to the total was on many lines more than 99%. Of the advantages secured through this are enhanced safety in train-operation, improvement in speed, reduction in brake-van tonnage on inclines, and localisation and prevention

of theft of vacuum fittings. The increase in the number of goods wagons fitted with vacuum brakes has been brought about by a system of levying penalties on the interchange of wagons not properly equipped. Moreover, the introduction of automatic centre-buffer coupler for vehicles has practically been decided upon ; the trials of the Willison coupler are being continued both for wagons and for coaches.

Another interesting improvement in train-running, introduced since 1925, is the introduction of electric headlights for locomotives, and external train lighting. The headlights on locomotives were adopted as a safety measure to enable drivers to see any defects of or obstructions on the permanent-way due either through natural causes like floods, etc., or through mischief caused by wild animals, robbers, or malcontented labourers. By March 1928, all locomotives working mail, passenger or mixed trains on state-worked lines have been provided with these lights and several goods locomotives also have been so fitted.

The system of external train lighting serves to augment the lighting of platforms of small roadside stations and is of assistance to passengers, especially at stations with low or rail-level platforms. It further provides an additional safeguard against trespass into ladies compartments, trespass on the off-side of trains when at stations, and train-robberies. Certain carriages on each train are fitted with two or more electric lights on either side, which are switched on, by an automatic device, whenever the speed of the train falls below a certain motion, and remain on until the train again resumes that speed.

In addition to these improvements in the running of trains various devices are gradually being introduced such as automatic luggage-weighing machines, loud-speakers for the announcement of arrival and departure of trains and directions for passengers, lighted train indicator boards, separate booking windows for men and women and uniformed and plain-dress supervisors, at big terminal stations like Calcutta and Bombay, with a view to

improve operating efficiency of the railways. The amenities to third class travel for which the public and the legislature of India are insistent have also received continued attention.

As regards rolling-stock user, the figures for engine usage on Class I railways were :—

	Broad Gauge.			Metre Gauge.		
	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28
1. Engine-miles per day per engine on the line :	57·8	60·8[1]	66·1	63·3	65·4	69·2
2. Net ton-miles per goods locomotive day	11,913	11,678	12,445	6,564	6,319	6,621

The vehicles and wagons user-figures excluding departmental were the following :—

In terms of 4-wheelers.	Broad Gauge.			Metre Gauge.		
	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28
1. Coaching Vehicle-miles (millions) Passenger and Proportion of mixed[2]	975	1,038	1,097	515	527	553
2. Vehicle-miles per Vehicle day,,	[3]	[3]	135	[3]	[3]	107
3. Wagon-miles (millions)	...	...	...	...	...	...
(a) Loaded ,,	1,259	1,253	1,345	499	509	543
(b) Empty ,,	588	583	625	187	184	189
(c) Total ,,	1,846	1,836	1,970	685	692	732
4. Percentage of loaded-wagon-miles to total	68·3	68·2	68·2	72·8	73·5	73·5
5. Wagon-miles per wagon-day...	34·2	33·1	34·8	30·8	30·5	31·5
6. Net ton-miles per wagon-day...	295	293	311	148	146	156
7. Average Wagon Loan (tons) of total traffic : Loaded Wagons only.	12·6	12·9	13·0	6·6	6·5	6·6

[1] Revised figure given in statement 22, Vol. II, of Administration Report, 1927-28. The figure in the Summary is 76·2.

[2] Figures in Summary, Table XIII of Vol. II, Administration Report, were given for Passenger vehicle-miles only and they are not to be compared with figures in the same table for 1927-28. A comparison between the two sets of figures, details of which are available in Statement 19, Vol. II, shows the preponderating inclusion of mixed vehicles on metre gauge lines.

[3] Information not available.

The efficiency of the Class I railways as determined by wagon-miles per engine-hour and net ton-miles per engine-hour was as follows :—

	Broad Gauge.			Metre Gauge.		
	1925-26.	1926-27.	1927-28.	1925-26.	1926-27.	1927-28.
1. Wagon-miles per engine-hour...	179	183	188	155	154	155
2. Net ton-miles per engine-hour...	1,563	1,613	1,665	739	733	759

The share of each department in the working expenses of Class I railways, and the percentage of gross earnings spent on each as indicating the ultimate efficiency, from the point of view of costs, are shown below :

	1925-26.		1926-27.		1927-28.	
	Lakh Rs.	% of gross earnings.	Lakh Rs.	% of gross earnings.	Lakh Rs.	% of gross earnings.
1. Maintenance of structural work.	14,32	13·1	14,16	13·0	16,00	14·0
2. Maintenance and supply of locomotive Power.	23,23	21·2	21,86	20·1	21,98	19·2
3. Maintenance of Carriage and Wagon Stock.	9,83	9·0	9,85	9·1	9,90	8·7
4. Expenses of Traffic Dept. ...	11,57	10·6	11,39	10·5	11,56	10·1
5. Expenses of General Depts.	4,95	4·5	5,06	4·7	5,03	4·4
6. Miscellaneous, including electric service, ferries and harbours, compensations, etc.	4,74	4·2	4,88	4·4	5,30	4·6
7. Total Working Expenses ...	68,73	62·7	67,28	61·9	69,84	61·1

In concluding this section mention should be made of the revision of general rates for working open lines in India, effected during the last three years. In 1925 a Committee was appointed for examining and recommending necessary modification, and in December 1927 the Railway Board issued the revised rules with a view to bringing them into force from 1st January, 1929.

VI. Reduction in Stores Balances and Compensation Claims.

In 1922-23 the Inchcape Committee on retrenchment of expenditure drew attention to the locking up of a large amount of capital in stores balances, and to the heavy payments made by the railways as compensation for goods lost or damages. The Railway administrations and the Stores department have thereafter made special efforts at reducing these charges with much beneficial result. The measures taken in the reduction of compensation payments included better supervision over the staff, rivetting or locking of wagons, and greater efficiency of the Watch and Ward Department. Improvements in the design, construction and better maintenance wagons, with the same end in view have been further attended to. The economies effected through sustained attention towards these two matters are shown in the following :

In Lakhs of rupees.

	1922-23.	1923-24.	1924-25.	1925-26.	1926-27.	1927-28.
1. Stores Balances.	22,99	21,58	17,09	15,68	14,69.	17,23
2. Claims for goods lost or damaged, paid by Class I Rys. (excluding Jodhpur Ry.).	120·30	78·97	56·70	29·32	15·22	9·50.

In the reduction of stores balances there was a set-back in 1927-28 mainly on account of materials obtained for heavy renewal and construction programmes in progress not being utilised before the close of the year.

The reduction in compensation claims payments, effected during the six years 1922-23 to 1927-28, on Class I railways was remarkable, the payments in 1927-28 being only 8 per cent. of that of 1922-23. On the East Indian Railway alone, which accounts for the biggest payment under this head, the charges came down from Rs. 58 lakhs to Rs. 2·36 lakhs in those six years.

VII. Road Motor Competition.

As has been the experience in other countries, railways in India are beginning to feel the competition of road motors. The absence of good roads and the increasing desire of local and district boards to levy heavy taxes on motor-vehicles with a view to maintain the roads that they use in proper order, will act as a check to the growth of road motor competition to a degree menacing to the railways of India. The railways have therefore little to be afraid of in the development of road traffic. On the other hand, as has been suggested by the Jayakar Committee on Road Development in India (1928), the correlation of Indian road and railway policy with a view to effect co-ordination of work is both possible and highly desirable. Good roads in India can render much service by providing feeders for the railways and by enabling them to concentrate their terminal facilities at large centres instead of duplicating them all through the country at great cost with no commensurate gain in efficiency. In many parts of India the zone tapped by a line of railway is extremely limited. In dry weather it does not exceed 20 miles a day's journey by bullock cart—on either side of the line. In rainy season it may be reduced to a few hundred yards for more than a week at a time. With even passable roads the use of motor transport

would more than treble the depth at all seasons. Thus, the advent of road motor service in India is to be desired more than feared, provided that there can be maintained a proper check on both the railways and the road motors from uneconomical competition, and unnecessary duplication of services. The waste that is taking place to-day in many European countries may be avoided.

The general policy adopted by the railway administrations in India up to the present time has been to meet road competition, wherever that is growing, by improving railway service to the public, while taking full advantage of the additional business brought by such motor transport as can act as feeders or distributors. At present, road competition in India is felt in the neighbourhood of large cities and suburbs and in some parts where good roads exist parallel to the railway or make a short circuit between two railway points. Railway administrations are carefully watching, with detailed statistics, all such competitive services and, during the last three or four years, experiments of different methods have been instituted with a view to a rational fight with the road-motor. These include the running of rail 'omnibuses' composed of one or two bogie of 3rd class carriages and a small engine, picking up and setting down passengers at level-crossings and elsewhere, tickets being issued on the train by a conductor. 'Sentinel' trains with 'sentinel' tractor and three or four four-wheeler coaches are also being tried, and in some places it has been found necessary to replace the short trains by full-length trains in order to meet the development of traffic. In 1927-28 the East Indian Railway introduced the rail-*cum*-omnibus monthly tickets in co-operation with the Calcutta Tramways Company with a view to rationalise rail and road transport facilities for suburban passengers into Howrah. A general effect of road competition on most of the lines has been to draw increased attention towards more frequent and conveniently timed services on the railways than had been provided in the past. On the whole, certain narrow-

gauge lines have been hit more adversely than others, and a careful guidance of road development may in future years obviate the necessity of constructing railways of smaller gauges than the standard. Thus it may have a healthy influence on the problem of gauges in the country.

In connection with the growth of road transport an interesting development has been the increased attention of the railways towards establishing cartage services particularly for the collection and delivery of parcels, luggages, and smalls in big cities. The East Indian Railway has even gone so far as to contemplate running pick-up road motor lorries and passenger buses right from Calcutta to Asansol.

It may not be out of place here to mention that in many parts of India a more extended co-ordination with water transport is also called for. This was felt many years ago, particularly on the Eastern Bengal and Assam Bengal Railways and working agreements were entered into between the railways and steamer companies. A greater attention to water-transport and necessarily to the waterways will bear fruit in many directions, in increase of trade, improved agriculture, and in the relief of the acute distress caused through malaria, dysentery and such other diseases that are caused mainly by a pollution and stagnation of water. One of the complaints made against some of the railways in India is that through their short-sighted policy of constructing high embankments without sufficient openings for the free flow of natural water-courses, they have been responsible partly for the deterioration of the rivers and canals. It is claimed that, in the interest of the health and agricultural prosperity of the people, and ultimately of the railways, a thorough enquiry should be instituted with a view to release water-courses with adequate openings.[1]

[1] Dr. Bentley, Director of Public Health in Bengal, endorses this view in his book on 'Malaria and Agriculture in Bengal,' 1927.

VIII. Conclusion.

In conclusion it should be stated generally that as regards operating efficiency the railways of India to-day do not stand much inferior to some of the more advanced railways of the world. Credit in this respect is due no less to the officers of the State as to those of the Class I companies. Above all, for the present progressive stage, the railways of India and the Indian people stand indebted to the late Sir William Acworth under whose chairmanship the enquiry of 1920-21 was conducted.

The control of transportation facilities is an important factor in the domination of one country, particularly undeveloped, by another. The history of the world furnishes many instances of attempts at such control, by the offer of furthering the interests of an undeveloped country by railway construction and operation. The political and economic strategy involved in these efforts may be analysed to yield the following advantages :—

(*a*) Increase in Military efficiency.

(*b*) Development of an extra-legal consular corps.

(*c*) Furnishing of supplies for construction, and otherwise helping in the investment of capital.

(*d*) Employment of nations in the construction and operation work and generally opening out new avenues of service for them.

(*e*) Granting rates directly or indirectly preferential to nationals.

(*f*) And, making railway alignments to suit the development of a particular course of trade in which the nationals are interested.

In a state of political struggle that India is passing through, it is not unlikely that one or more of these strategies will be attributed to the development of the Indian railway net-work.

Undoubtedly some of these ideas were in the mind of Lord Dalhousie when he argued with great vigour the case for the construction of railways in 1850. But, long before the close of the 19th century the huge benefits that the railways brought to the country completely overshadowed any possible strategy behind them. It is hoped, that, in a few years, the Indian public will be in a position to place more confidence in the railway administrations than in the past. Public co-operation and appreciation are after all the best inspiration to those that are responsible for good management and operation.

NALINAKSHA SANYAL

NIGHTINGALE OF JUNE

Birdsong—a rising moon—
  Peace in the dell,
And in the air is heard
  A voice I love well.
Bird in the swinging boughs
  Cease not your singing,
Forth my glad soul has gone
  Through Heaven winging.
High in the stately elms
  You sing glad-hearted,
Thus is my sorrow eased,
  Pain has departed.
O! Pour forth your rich song
  To the still night,
For your voice is God's voice
  And guides me a-right!

LELAND J. BERRY.

PAUNDRAVARDHANA TO KARNASUBARNA

(In the 7th Century A.D.)

The great Chinese traveller Huen Chwang came to India *via* Kashmir, in the beginning of the 7th century A.D. When he came to Kanauj he was in the company of its king Harshavardhana. There he heard that Shashanka was king of Gouda and Kia-lo-na-su-fa-la-na was his capital. It is recorded in the notes of his travels, that from Támralipti he went north-west for about or over 700 li to Kia-lo-na-su-fa-la-na. There has been much learned discussion on the question of the position of Kia-lo-na-su-fa-la-na, the capital of King Shashanka, of Samatat and of Paundravardhana.

This is another humble attempt on the same subject to locate those places with the help of new light and reasoning.

The notes of Huen Chwang's travels are partly to be found in his life by a Chinese and translated by Beal (1911), and partly in the notes translated by Watters (1904).

According to Tang Shu as stated by Watters[1] Paundravardhana was 1,200 li south-west from Kamrup and 400 li north-east of Ka-chu-wen-khi-lo, which is on the south of the Ganges and east of Champa,[2] which may be taken to be Champanagar or Bhagalpur. It may be somewhere in Bihar (Behar). Paundravardhana is possibly 600 li[3] (or 80-85 miles) east of Champa. Kia-lo-na-su-fa-la-na is about 900 li south-east of Paundravardhana,[4] and on the south-east of it is Samatat, which bordered on the sea (Beal, p. 132). The distance of Samatat from Kia-lo-na-su-fa-la-na is not given. Watters did not mention Kia-lo-na-su-fa-la-na in connection with his mention about Paundravardhana and Kamrup.

[1] Vol. 2, p. 185.
[2] Beal, p. 131.
[3] Beal, p. 131.
[4] *Ib.*

On looking at the map of Bengal and comparing those distances approximately, it will be seen that Paundravardhana would be near Gouḍa, and Samatat would be in Jessore, Nadiâ, Khulna and 24-Pargana districts. West-Faridpur would be direct south from Kamrup and hence would be in Samatat (Watters), but not Chandradwipa, which is further east. It will also be seen from the map that Kia-lo-na-su-fa-la-na being 900 li south-east from Paundravardhana would be in Rajshahi or in Pabna District, at the utmost. Sonárgá would be another 700 li or so further off. As Samatat is stated to have been south-east of Kia-lo-na-su-fa-la-na, Sonárgá could not have been meant, for it will be on the north of Faridpur and north-east of Jessore.

Mahásthán looks to be far off almost on the east of Pánduá and on the east-east by north of Gauḍa, and moreover it is on the border of Kámrup country. Therefore Mahásthan could not have been either Paundravardhana or Kia-lo-na-su-fa-la-na. Paundravardhan is said to be about 1,200 li south-west of Kamrup.

The late Bankimchandra Chatterji in his monthly magazine *Bangadarshana* for 1280 B.S. (p. 230) asserted that Pánduá was very likely Paundravardhana of old. It is on the north of Maldah, as well as of Gauḍa. That learned author asserted that the modern word Pôd is very likely derived from the Sanskrit Pundra; and Pôd people reside all about Pánduá and the adjacent places.

Babu Haragopal Das Kundu who in 1326 B.S. wrote a synopsis on Paundravardhana and Karatoá stated in it that he had found a village named Pundári near Sántáhár railway station on the south-west of Bográ. (See also monthly magazine *Bijaya*, 1320, p. 778.) He suggested that Paundravardhana might have been near it. As there is nothing to corroborate such as ruins and relics, mere name is but misleading. Moreover the river Karatoá floods the Paundra lands :

" Paundrán Plábayatê "—Karatoá Máhátma, p. 63.

It is also stated in Brahmánda Purán :

Udghim natah shailáduttarasya cha dakhshinê
Pundram náma samákhyâta nagaram tatra bai smritam.
—4, Rangpur Sahitya Parisat Patrika, p. 117.

That is towards the north is the town Pundra to the south of the Himalaya.

Again in Matsya Purán, Ch. 18 (p. 249 of the Bangabasi edition) the following places form the mouth (front part) of the deity represented by the figure Kurma (tortoise): Magadh, Maithii, Paundra, Pragjyotish, Lauhitya, Samudra, Udayáchal, Támralipta, Bardhamán, Koshal, etc.

The first four are apparently in order from West to East. In Jogini Tantra the following boundaries are given of Kamrup (*vide* 1, Rangpur Sahitya Parishat Patrika, p. 19, and Kamruper Itihash by Holiram Dhenk ál Funkán, p. 8):

करतोयां समाश्रित्य यावद्दिक्करवासिनी।
उत्तरस्यां कञ्जगिरि करतोयाञ्च पश्चिमे॥
दक्षिणे ब्रह्मपुत्रस्य लाक्षायाः सङ्गमावधि।
कामरूप इति ख्यात * * *॥ पूर्व्वदिक्षुनदि।

From this it is clear that Kámrup was on the east of the Karatoá river, while Pundra country was on the west of it and south of the Himálayá. Of course it includes Bogra and Mahásthán. But it will be seen from the copper-plate grants that the administration of Pundravardhan extended up to the west of Banga or Bikrampur.

If Mahásthán be taken to have been Paundravardhan then according to Beal (p. 131) 900 li south-west from it would be Kia-lo-na-su-fa-la-na, which would then be about Tangail or some place on the north-west of Dacca, far away from Sonárgáon which is 12 miles east of Dacca. Moreover according to Beal Samatat being on the south-east of Kia-lo-na-su-fa-la-na would fall within the Dacca district or more properly within Bikrampur, and thus it will be on the south of Kámrup as told by Watters. Therefore Subarnagram is not Kia-lo-na-su-fa-la-na.

Again in Sandhyakar Nandi's Rámcharit the Varendri country seems to have been Paundravardhana.

Dharmapal's kingdom did not extend to Ráḍa; by a copper-plate he granted land to a Bráhmin within Paundravardhan Bhukti. It is likely to have been within Varendri. It seems from the copper-plate grants of the late Pála and Sen kings that Paundravardhan Vukti or country gradually extended south-eastwards on the border of Banga. Thus in Biswarup Sen's latest grant (printed in the Indian Historical Quarterly for March 1926) the lands granted, though within Paundravardhan, were on the west and north of Banga.

It appears from this grant that Banga was bounded at the time by the sea on the south. In it within Banga is mentioned A'ṛḍi jalá-pátak—possibly it is A'ṛḍial Khál which passes by Madaripur in Faridpur.

There is no mention in this plate of Samatat. Kandradwip is mentioned in it, possibly it was Chandradwip. It is also within Bikrampur. Báklá Chandradwip of the present day is not the same as Chandradwip of Bishwarup Sen's time. The capital shifted place on 2 or 3 occasions, and Báklá Chandradwip was the capital when Pratápáditya of Jashohar fame flourished and it is not within Bikrampur. This is the local legend.

In Shyamalbarmá's copper-plate grant it is stated that Bikrampur Bhukti was within Banga Bishaya. Bikrampur has been a well defined locality on the south-eastern part of the Dacca district (*i.e.*, the Munshigunj Sub-Division) and on the northern part of the Faridpur district.

In no one of the copper-plate grants found up to date is Karnasubarna or Kánsoná mentioned. But according to Huen Chwang, Shashánka was king of Paundravardhana. There is the Shashánka Dighi near Mahásthán (or Mustán) which is now in the Bogra district (and a few miles north of the present Bográ town). This dighi commemorates the name of (possibly) King Sashánka; the old Bográ town was 5 or 6 miles off from

the present Bográ town and to its south-west; it was in ancient times known as Bágharaha (Arch. S. of Ind., Vol. XV for 1882, p. 104, by Cunningham).

The Mádháinagar grant of Lakshman Sen shows that Barendri was then within Paundravardhan Bhukti, again in the two earlier grants of Bishwarup Sen Banga is included within Paundravardhan Bhukti, which apparently was a fiscal division of the kingdom.

About a hundred years after Shashánka, Jayanta was Prince of Paundravardhan, under the sovereignty of the King of Gauḍa (Rajtarangini by Kalhan, Bk. IV). Jayápiḍa, King of Káshmir, went there and took up his residence on the banks of a river. He saw Paundravardhana in a flourishing condition with many buildings. The ruins of Mahásthán are confined in so small a place that it compares unfavourably with the then famous Paundravardhan.

Messrs. Cunningham and Beveridge, after seeing the ruins have noted that there was nothing Buddhist at Mahásthán (but see List of Ancient Monuments, 1896, where contradictions appear). Bhasu Bihar with Buddhist remains was to its west and 4 miles off; there were mounds on 3 sides and the Karatoá on the east with plain lands in the middle of Mahásthán. They heard the legend that Parashurám was the last Hindu king there who was defeated by a Mahomedan Fakir invader. There is a mound within it called Parashuramer Bári and there is a big stone set on a pavement said to be the remains of a temple (Arch. S. India, Vol. XV, p. 110).

It is stated in Vol. III, p. 3 of Rangpur Sahitya Parishat Patriká that on a stone known as "Khodar Páthor" figures of Buddha with his disciples are inscribed ; and the legend about the mound is that it was possibly the ruins of a temple of some Deb or Deity, possibly of the *Kálibári* of Parasurám.

It is hardly likely that a capital or a fort would be made by the then civilized king in such a defenceless manner and on the border land. It is very likely the name Mahásthán indicates a

resting place for the bodies of those departed, and it was a burial ground for the Buddhists, whose Bihar was only 4 miles off on the west of it, or a cremation ground. Such resting place exists on the Udayagiri near Bhubaneswar in Urissa, where it is locally called Savá or Shová. In Rajani Kanta Chakrabarti's Gauḍer Itihásh at p. 108 it is stated that 9 miles off and south-west of Mahásthán on a high mound are to be found ruins of a temple which the local people call Devpálká Chháttri as Deb Pál died there. There is also near it a place called Jogi Gufa (a religious place).

The word Mahásthán in Sanskrit means a high position or station and lofty rank (as in Svayambhubam sthánam gacchhati—Mahábhárat, 13,3366)—Sir M. Monier William's Sanskrit-English Dictionary, and Bohtlink and Roth's Sanskrit Worterburch (Dictionary in German). According to the same authority Mahásthán Prápta is a name of a Bodhisattva, Buddha. Apparently therefore the word Mahásthán had a touch of religious element in it. It is not unlikely that the place was originally the residence of a local Hindu king called Parashurám, but after that king's family became extinct and the place was abandoned it was probably used as a cremation ground and lastly as a burial ground. Location of Deities Shiva and Kali near a cremation ground is allowable in Hindu society. But when the Mahomedans came to rule, they used the material of Hindu shrines for other purposes. (Arch. Sur. Ind., Vol. XV, pp.104, 110; Imp. Gaz. of Ind., Vol. XVI, p. 37; *Sahitya*, 1324, and Bograr Itihash. Pt. II.)

What the name of the place originally was has not yet been found out. In the early maps the name of the place is written as Mustan,[1] later writers have called it *Mahasthan Garh* (fort) to adapt the name to their theory that it was capital of Paundravardhan. There is nothing to show that during the

[1] Mahomedans use the term to indicate a holy place in Asiatic Turkey; as Mustaṅka Bakri is a got of Mustan.

time of the Pál kings and Sen kings of Bengal, Mahásthán used to be called Paundravardhan. The names of the 4 gates and of the big stone in Mahásthán are rather Mohamedan, indicating use of the place by the Mahomedans.

It appears from the Khalimpur copper-plate grant of Dharmapal that it was issued from Pataliputra (Patna) and by it land was granted in village Kraunchashwavra within Mahántoprakásh Bishay under Byaghratoli within Bhukti Paundravardhan. Byaghratoli was possibly old Bogra, called Baghraha as noticed already. Mahántaprakásh was probably Mahásthán. They were within Paundravardhana. The village granted with its boundaries could be identified even from Rennell's map or old Survey map.

It appears from the Monghyr copper-plate grant of Devapal, granted from Mudgagiri (Monghyr) that land was granted in Srinagar Vukti, Krimila Bishay, from village Meshika. Srinagar Vukti is outside Paundravardhan Vukti. Srinagar is an ancient well-known place within Bikrampur in the Dacca district. It is likely Devapála died near Mahásthán during an expedition, where there is now Devapálká Chháttri. It appears from Madan Pál's copper-plate grant, issued from Rámábati that land was granted out of Sardár Koshtagiri within Paundravardhan Vukti, Kotibarsha Bishaya and Halábarta Mandal. Rámábati is near the junction of the Karatoá and the Ganges, in the Pábná district, and Kotibarsha may be the present Kotábári within Pábná.

Further it appears from Sushong copper-plate grant of Bishwarup Sen that Adiáljolá was within Banga, that village Binayatilaka is bounded on the north by Bangál and on the south by the sea, and that Shāmshiddipátak is bounded on the east by Deobhog and on the south by Bangál. Bangál is probably Banga. Deobhog is within Vikrampur ; and Adiáljolá is probably Adiál Khál near Mádáripur. Shánashiddhipáshá (Shamshiddipátak) is hence on the north of Banga, which is bounded on the south by the sea. This Banga is outside Paundravardhana. Shámshiddhipáshá is within Paundravardhana.

Therefore Vikrampur, east-Faridpur and Barisal is within Banga bounded on the south by the sea. (See early Survey Map-sheets Nos. 114 and 121 and Rennel's map of Bográ, Pábná, Mymensingh, Dáccá and Faridpur districts.)

Samatat as mentioned by Huen Chwang is thus necessarily on the west of Banga, which is on the south of Kámrup, both Samatat and Banga are bounded on the south by the sea. 900 li (or about 190 miles) west of Samatat is Támralipti (or Tamluk).

Thus by Samatat Chandradwip could not have been meant, as noticed already. There beiug uo village named Samatat, the place intended is difficult to locate.

There are 2 or 3 earthen stupas, 2 very big tanks called Ráyadighi and Kankandighi, a big masonry structure called Jatár Deul (since published in *Bhárat-bārsha*, of Ashvin 1336 B.S.), as well of a very high and wide embankment (partly washed away) on the south of the Government embankment and some 30 miles to the south-east of Diamond Harbour. There are also relics here and there, and specially near Mathurápur on the north thereof. They may be Buddhist relics, and the town represented by them may be the place where Huen Chwang went. It is within Samatat. Kámrup province may be 120 to 130 miles from there, though Kámrup town is some 240 miles off. There was a river route from Dacca side by the Padmá, Gorái and other rivers by the south side of old Jessore and them *via* Jatár Deul and Rupnáráyan to Tamluk (Rennel's map, plate 34). Huen Chwang must have come through this river route in Samatat.

The town Tamluk with the ancient presiding Goddess Bargabhimá has not shifted, though the eastern part of it has diluviated into the river Rupanáráyan. There is no question or doubt about the position of Tâmralipti or Tamluk.

From Támralipti Huen Chwang went 700 li (about 70 miles) north-west to (as translated by Watters, what he recorded as) kia-lo-na-su-fa-la-na country. "la" or "lo" in Chinese is

taken as standing for "r" ; "fa" for "b," "v" or "i," and "Kia" for "k." Hence the corresponding name is guessed to be Karnasubarna.

If direction be taken as guide, the north-west line from Tâmralipti would pass over Ghátál, Chandrakoná, Garh-byáttá (Garbetá) and some other such places, but over no place bearing a name phonetically similar to Karnasubarna. Close by this line is a part of the Káná Dámodar which is known as Kánsoná khál, spoken of later on.

If sound be taken as guide, it is seen in the map that Karnagarh or Keshiarhi both with many ancient temples and other relics approach that name. The former is 6 miles north and the latter 18 miles south by west of the town of Midnapur and on the west from Tamluk. According to local legend close to Midnapur town is the southern Go-griha (hill-caves for cows) and fort of Birát Rájá of Mahábhárat fame. Karnagarh is west-west-north, but Keshiárhi is west of Támralipti.

If distance be taken as criterion, Karnagarh will be about 50 miles (as the crow flies), and Keshiárhi 45 miles from Támralipti. It may fairly be assumed that the actual road was then much longer. The existing roads are of much recent dates. The directions and localities of the roads of the 7th or 10th century are not known. The actual distance of Karnagarh might thus have been "about 700 li" from Támralipti by the land route.

Watters in the notes on Huen Chwang's travels has stated that from Támralipti he travelled north-west for "over" (in the Travels of Huen Chwang by Julien, 1870 A.D., it is stated to be "about" and not "over") 700 li to Kia-lo-na-su-fa-la-na country (not town or fort). There is now no country or disirict or pargannah or Mandal of that name, or of any name phonetically approaching it or the word that may be deduced from it, anywhere in Bengal.

In the Bishwakosh it is stated that Kia-lo-na-su-fa-la-na is Karnasubarna, from which the local name is Kánsoná near

Murshidabad, and this Kánsoná was the capital of Shashánka, the king of Bengal. Kán is colloquial for the Sanskrit word *karna* and *sona* for *subarna*. On looking to Village Directories for the districts of Murshidabad, Pabna and Maldah, it appears that there is no Karnasubarna or Kansoná in Murshidábád or Máldáh districts, but there is Kánsoná in the Pábná district and within Police Station Ullápora and Post Office Salap.

On looking to the map of Bengal it is found that from Tamluk to Kánsoná the distance is nearly 3 times that between Tamluk and Karnagarh, and Kánsoná is almost north by east from Tamluk. On the east of Tamluk was the old Jessore (Jashohara of Pratápáditya) west of Sátkhira, and nearly at the same distance from Tamluk as between it and Karnagarh. Moreover if Shashánka was king of Banga, he was in Bikrampur on the south and south-west of Dacca. (See map of Bengal.) The name Bengal did not then exist, but Banga existed.

There is no reason to assume that Huen Chwang, a veteran traveller, would make a gross mistake, and say north-west for north or north-east, and say "over 700 li," though the distance was over 1,200 li.

If Kia-lo-na-su-fa-la-na be Karnasubarna, in the course of time by phonetic change it may become Kánsoná. There is no Kánsoná at present within Murshidabad, but there is one in the Pábná district and on the east of Murshidabad, and it is on the south-east of Pándua. According to Beal Karnasubarna is on the south-east of Paundrabardhan. If Pandua were Paundravardhan as mentioned already, this Kánsoná might have been Karnasuvarna. Some say Rángámáti was Kánsoná; but there is no authority for it. From the Village Directory it appears that there are 3 villages of that name, namely: (Rángámáti within) (1) Police Station and P.O. Gazol, District Máldáh; (2) P.S. and P.O. Gokarna, District Murshidabad; and (3) P.S. Dulai, P.O. Harpania, District Pabna. Whichever be the correct one, it cannot be the Karnasubarna (mentioned by Watters) after Támralipti. On the south-east of Kánsoná

(District Pábna) would be the western part of Jessore within Samatat. If that were correct Subarnagrám or Sonárgaon which is 12 miles east of Dacca could not have been Karnasubarna.

In no one of the copper-plate grants found up to date is Karnasubarna mentioned, and nowhere else is it said that Shashánka was king of Karnasubarna or Sonárgáon. In Bán's Harshacharit he is spoken of as Gauḍa King Shashánka. Bán was his contemporary and so his opinion has some value. His capital might therefore have been within Gauḍa country. It is not unlikely that he would have another capital at Kánsoná; but not to the east of Dáccá, *i.e.*, outs de Paundrabardhan.

The writer in the Bengalee encyclopaedia Biswakosh has made a confusion between Karnadurga near Bhagalpur in Angadesh and Karnagarh near Midnapur. He has stated that the river Káṇsháí or Káṇshábati flows within a mile of Karnagarh; but this is not so.

M. St. Martin conjectured that the present Sonárgaon was the Suvarnagrám of old, and on the left bank of the Lower Brahmaputra. (See Ancient India as described by Ptolemy by McCrindle, and old Survey map of the Dacca District.)

A copper-plate inscription has been found in Sylhet which purports to be a grant by Vashkarbarman, King of Kámrupa country, from camp Karnasubarna (*vide* 7, Rangpur Sahitya Parishad Patrika). Vashkarbarman made alliance with Harshavardhan in his expedition against Shashánka (*vide* Ban's Harshacharit). Vashkarbarman's conquest of Karnasubarna must have been near his kingdom Kámrupa country. Consequently it may be Subarnagrám (or Sonárgáon), or Kánsoná (in Pábna).

No definite information is possible from the grant itself. As Shashánka was king of Gauḍa, Kánsoná in the Pabna District is the more likely place. Beveridge in his learned discourse has asserted that Rángámati *alias* Kánsoná in the Murshidabad district might have been Karnasubarna. In his

introduction to the Gupta coins J. Allan states that "Sri Shashánka" on a coin refer to Shashánka King of Gauḍa (in North Bengal) or Karnasubarna (Kánsoná) in East Bengal. It excludes Karnagarh near Midnápur and it is not decisive as to Kánsoná, Ráṇgámáti or Sonárgaon.

Cunningham in his ancient Geography of India, stated that the chief city of Karnasuvarna must be looked for along the course of the Subarnarekhá river somewhere about the districts of Singbhum and Bárabhum. It would be direct west of Tamluk and not north-west as in Watters. Cunningham added that this wild part of India was so little known that he was unable to suggest any particular place in India.

There were (and even now are) large tracts of jungle lands on the west of Midnápur; and there have been "jungle mahals," *i.e.*, Forest estates on the north and east of Midnápur, and hence probably his hesitation.

It seems to me that the doubt or hesitation was created really for calling two places by the same name, Kia-lo-na-su-fa-la-na. Huen Chwang while at Kanauj and in touch with Harshabardhan stated that Shashánka was king of Kia-lo-no-su-fa-la-na, and after coming to Bengal he did not see that king and did not speak of him. Hitherto all attempt was directed to find out that place assuming that both the mentions refer to one and the same place. This apparently is not so.

In the western part of the Hughli district a part of the Káná Dámodar river used to be called Kánsoná Khál. It is silted up and is now only a khál or drain (see Gazetteer of Hughli). But no old town of that name is traceable there. This khál is about 40 miles off from Karnagarh.

Close to the outermost ditch round the ancient town of Gour and on its south-east is a big village called Kánsát with many ancient ruins. Its antiquity, however, is not known. There is one Karnadurga near Bhagalpur some 200 miles (or over) off and on the north-north by east from Támralipti. It is in Matsyadesh proper and within Magadh, probably the

fort of Karna of Mahábhárat fame. Karnagarh 6 miles north of Midnapur, within the northern part of Bhanjabhum, and south of Brahmanbhum, in the district of Midnapur is an ancient fort. There are various rivers about it, and there is a *Chaita* or very high lands on its west-west by north and 3 miles from it and probably of Buddhist origin. There is a local tradition that Karna of Mahábhárat fame made this fort, like the tradition that Birát of the same fame made the fort Dakkhin-Gogriha in a hillock close to Midnapur town and only two miles from it, and in it the Deity Gop-Nandini is located. It is on the river Kansábati called Kánsái.

Since the Aryans had their sway so far off and they went up to Ekchakrá, a village within *Gaudadesh* and not far off from Nadia (see Nabadwip Parikramá by Narahari Chakrabarti, p. 68), Karna's sway over Karnagarh is not unlikely. It is stated in the Midnapur Itihás by J. C. Bose that 5 miles off from Dánton (ancient Dantapur) is Ráyabaniá Garh, the fort of Birát Rájá. In an article on the local traditions about Cuttack (J.B. and O.R.S Sept., 1926, p. 335, by my namesake Mr. S. C. Ghosh) it is stated that 6 miles from Cuttack at Chanduár there are ruins of the palace of Birát Rájá, and not far from it is the Kichak Garh or fort of Kichak, Commander-in-chief of Birát Rájá.

On the east and north-east of Midnapur was the ancient Sumhadesh, with capital at Tamluk (see the Sanskrit drama Pabandut by Dhoyi, a pundit of Lakshman Sen, King of Banga). At one time Suhmadesh extended northwards up to the boundary of Gopbhum in the Beerbhum district, and there is the Deity Suhmeswari in Debipur near Ilambaazr, not far off from Trishastigarh of King Ichhái Ghosh (Beerbhum Bibaran by Mahimáranjan of the Dubrájpur Ráj family in Beerbhum). Karnagarh is just on the west of Suhmadesh.

Midnapur locality was at one time centre of Utkal during the reign of the Kushari kings of Orissá, and at another time, the country south-westwards was called Koshal Desh (See

Deshábali Bibriti, Sanskrit work to be found in the Asiatic Society of Bengal and in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Library.)

In Ban's Sriharsha Charit edited by Ettinghausen (French) it is stated that Shashánka was king of Karnasubarna which was a part of Gauḍa. It thus necessarily excludes Submadesh and Bhanjabhum within which is Karnagarh in Midnapur, and therefore refers either to Kansat near the ruins of Gauḍa, or Kánsoná in the Pabna district, but not to Subarnagram on the east of Dacca ; as the country there was never Gouḍa Desh.

Karnagarh in Midnapur will be the reasonably suggestive place to represent Karnasubarna, which was about 700 li (about 70 miles) from Támralipti. The name Keshiárhi has no semblance to Kia-lo-na-su-fa-la-na, though it is nearer to Singhbhum ; but it is direct west of Tamluk, while Karnagarh is on the west-west by north.

This Karnagarh was at one time a fortified city, and home of a Singha family of Rajahs (Rany Srimuty Debeah *v.* Rany Koond Luta and others, 1847, Moore's Indian Appeals, Vol. IV, p. 292).

In the history of Midnapur by T. N. Pal, pleader of Midnapur, a tradition is recorded that Lakhsman Singh, an ancestor of the Singha family, obtained Karnagarh in about 1568 A.D. from the Khayará Rájá Surath Singh.

In the Bishwakosh, on the authority of Deshábali and Bhabishya-Brahmakhanda, it is stated that Karnagarh was formerly the capital of Brahmanbhum. Really it is in Bhanjabhum; on its north-east is Bráhmanbhum. It is not unlikely that at some time or other previously the boundary extended southwards including within it Karnagarh.

In the Medinipur Itihásh (at p. 125) by J. C. Bose (1921) once a Circle Officer of Midnapur, it is stated that Karnagarh was a mile wide, and on its southern part was the temple of Anàdi Lingam Dandeswar with excellent workmanship. At p. 134 of the same Itihásh it is stated that it appears from the Sanskrit work Bhabishya-Brahmakhanda that Bir Singh,

brother of Hem Singh, a Raja of Bardhamán (Burdwan) conquered Karna Durga and Barada Bhum.

It is stated in Shibáyan (last page) by Rameswar Bhattácharyya written in praise of his king in Sak 1664 (1742 A.D.) as follows (he was Court Pandit of Raja Jashomanta Singha of Karnagarh) :

"Nitya karma japa pujā yajña dān brata,
Karnapurê kali-Rāmê kêbá nai jánê,
Bhañja bhumiswar bhup bhuban bidita."

That is, the king of Bhanjabhum who was well-known in the world ruled in Karnapur like Ram in the Koli age, and who did not know it; he daily performed puja, worship, contemplation of God, sacrificial rites, gifts and brata.

Thus about 300 years ago the tradition was that Karnagarh of Bhanjabhum was known as Karnapur; and according to Bhabisya Brahmakhanda, which is a much earlier work, it was then in Bráhmanbhum. (See Ancient map of Bengal or Rennell's Map of Midnapur, plate 52, pt. 2, where it is written as Curringur.)

It is not unlikely that after the great Kurukshettra battle, many of the warriors would disperse, or for fear of retaliation would go over to distant lands. The legends about Karna and Birát may not be easily thrown as de, after they have been current for so many centuries. It is not unlikely after the great Kurukshettra war that Raja Karna who fought in that war would settle in Karnadurga in Matsyadesh near Bhagalpur, and would make a defence fort at Karnagarh near Midnapur on the outskirt of his then kingdom. Bayabánia garh of Birát Rájá is about 12 miles south of Midnapur, while Karnagarh is 6 miles off on the north of it.

Close to Karnagarh were 2 other garhs (forts) : one was called A'báshgarh which was close to Midnapur, and the other Jámdárgarh, 2 miles to the north of Karnagarh. Any one of

them or the one represented by *Chaita* may be of Buddhist origin, spoken of by Huen Chwang as Lo-to-mo-chi monastery "constructed by a king of the country, before the country had been converted to Buddhism." Thus according to him even before the spread of Buddhism in Midnapur there was a powerful and civilized king who would construct strong buildings for a fort, or any other purpose, close to what is now known as Karnagarh. But I do not find any name in any ancient map to correspond to the sound Lo-to-mo-chi. In the map the name of Karunghur was supplied possibly by a surveyor, who was not conversant with Bengalee or Sanskrit.

Moreover it appears from Mánik Gánguli's Sri Dharma Mangal writen in the 17th century that there was another king Karna Sen Roy at Mayaná near Midnapur who was contemporary of Karpurdhal, King of Kamrup, but his connection with Karnagarh is not yet known. Retired Judge Mr. P. N. Banerji (in 1314 in his Bánglár Purábritta has stated that about the beginning of the 5th century A.D. one Karna Sen was king near Murshidábád, whose successors were ousted from kingdom by the Gupta Kings of Magadh. This Karna Sen, according to another legend, is stated to have been the founder of Karnagarh near Chámpánagar in Bhagalpur. No authority is cited ; but if it be true, then Karna of Mahábhárat fame might have constructed Karnagarh fort near Midnapur.

Julien in his Memoirs, Vol. II, has given a route-map of Huen Chwang's travels. It shows that Karnasubarna may be somewhere in Singbhum, west of Tamluk, but far more than 700 li (60 to 70 miles) off. There is not to be found any place in any map to answer (phonetically) Kia-lo-na-su-fa-la-na or Karnasubarna there. Moreover he has placed Pundra country on the west of the Bhagirathi river where there is now Santhal Parganá.

Mr. H. Beveridge contended that Karnasubarna, where Huen Chwang went after Támralipti (as translated by Watters) was Rángámáti; he was followed by Mr. Banarji and Bose

(J.A.S.B. 1893, p. 315). But this Rárgámáti is due north of Tamluk and 120 to 130 miles off, *i.e.*, roughly 1,200 to 1,300 li away.)

In Mádhabrája's grant of Gupta era 300 (619-620 A.D.) he admitted subordination under Mahárája 5 (?) Sri Sashánka. Mádhabrája is stated to have been in Kongenth; he granted land in Krishnagiri, and Sashánka's kingdom is described as being washed on all sides by sea waves and included islands; there is no mention of Gauda or Paundrabardhana, nor Karnasubarna or any place in Bengal. (Ep. Ind., Vol. VII, p. 143.) Kongenth may be Kokonada or some such place. Sashánka is not described as Narendraditya or Narendra Gupta. It is likely this "5-Sri Shashánka" was a king of the southern countries. Thus apparently there were two Shasháńkas, one in Gauda and the other in the Deccan. Their identity is rather far-fetched. The era used was not the era current in Bengal, and it is open to question if Shashánka of Gauda was alive or was an emperor with "5-sri" decorations in 619 A.D.

Huen Chwang recorded that on the north of the capital was the famous monastery of Lo-to-mo-chih (may be rendered Ratamashi or Ratanji); but there is no locality with such name. There are ruins but nothing to identify them with the monastery.

From Kia-lo-na-su-fa-la-na Huen Chwang went above (in Julien's translation it is about) 700 li south-westwards to Wu-tu country (Watters' Yuan Chwang, Vol. I, p. 15c). It might have been Utkal but more probably Uḍ-desh or Udra (*i. e.*, Urissa). South-west from Karnagarh would be Mayurbhanja and beside Urissa proper. Mayurbhanja itself might have been included in Urissa at the time. In Chaitanya Bhágbat written in the lifetime of Sri Chaitanya, it is stated that Chaitanya Deb from Chhattrabhog (on the east of Diamond Harbour) went by boat through Satamukhi (mouth of the old Bhágirathi) to Prayág-ghát in Utkal (south-east of Mahishádal) in the Midnapur district. That ghát is now known as Gangághát (p. 261

in Sheshkhanda.) Then he entered "Uḍ-Desh" ; Jaleswar is close to Mayurbhanja country.

On referring to the map of Midnapur and Urissá (or Orissá) it will be seen that the southern part of Mayurbhanja country will be about 700 li from Karnagarh. There are various ruins and relics there, but they are not sufficiently explored and brought to public notice.

Wu-tu country cannot be any other place which is 700 li south-west of any other Karnasubarna or of Kánsoná or Karnadurga near Bhagalpur, or of Rángámáti or Mahásthán or Sonárgáon.

Huen Chwang noted that the Wu-tu country was 7,000 li in circuit and its capital was about 20 li in circuit. The people were in speech and manners different from the people of "Madhyadesh". By it he might have meant the country about Benares or Allahabad, and not Central India ; for he did not go to Central India before he went to Wu-tu country. Speech and manners in any part of Bengal may be different from those in Orissa or Mayurbhanja or Bhadrak, and certainly from those in the North-Western Provinces. Or he might have meant Midnapur where there are " Madhya" Sreni Brahmans.

It is stated that in the south-west of the Wu-tu country he went to Pu-sie-po-ki-li monastery in a mountain. This place is also difficult to identify. It appears that the present capital of Mayurbhanja is Báripada but its old capital was Kitchong which is now in ruins and in the mountains in the western part of the country. (J. B. O. R. S., Sept. 1926, p. 447.)

The descriptions given of Pu-sie-po-ki-li in a mountain do not tally with the relics of Khandagiri and Udayagiri near Bhubaneswar which are two hills, side by side with the highway to Cuttack between them. Both are on the direct south and not south-west of Utkal or Urissa (Wu-tu or Uḍ-desh).

The country on the south of Mayurbhanja is hilly and so are the Nilgiri hills which are just on the east thereof. The country on the west and south of Mayurbhanja is also hilly. The

available maps do not show any place named Pu-sie-po-ki-li. The nearest approach to it are (*a*) Purnapani on a hill range on the north of Keonjhar; (*b*) Panashpani near the western border of Mayurbhanja; and (*c*) Pusaripada within the Nilgiri mountains. It is reported that the jungles of Mayurbhanja, Keonjhar and Pál-Lahará abound in Buddhist relics. It is difficult to know if any of those places or any other place stands for the said old monastery.

It is stated that near the shore of the ocean in the south-east of the Wu-tu country was the city of Cheli-ta-lo, above 20 li in circuit, which was a thoroughfare and resting place for all sea-going traders, and traders from distant lands, and far away. 20,000 li distant in the south, was Senkala. By Senkala was apparently meant Sinhala or Ceylon.

Hijli, south of Kanthi (Contai) on the sea coast was a port and it might have been called Chelitalo ; but it is within Urissa and on its north-east ("lo" being for "r," there are 2 l's in the word). Srikhettra may be deduced from it. As people of Bengal who had trade with Sumatra or Ceylon, would take rest at Puri or Srikshettra. which they could reach by the mouth of a river close by and offer puja to Jagannath (Kabikankan Chandi by Mukunda Ram Chakrabarti written about 400 years ago).

In Raghunandan's Shri Purushottama Tattwa it is mentioned on the authority of Brahma Purána, that there was a big river named Chitrotpala which rising from the Vindhya mountain passed by Shrikhettra (Puri) and fell into the sea. Chelita-lo may therefore have reference to Shrikshettra or Chitrotpala, or it may refer (remotely) to Hijli.

If the places so traced be accepted as probable, Karnagarh may be taken as Karnasubarna of the 7th century A.D.

The position of Karnasubarna may also be found by tracing backwards from Chelita-lo sea-port, whether it be identified with Shrikshettra, or Chandbali or Hijli, the towns on the sea-Shore. Thus on the north-west of Chelita-lo should be Wu-tu

country. If Wu-tu be Uddesh or Orissa, then on referring to the map Shrikshettra would be Chilitalo, and from Wu-tu north-east would be near Midnapur. Thus Kia-lo-na-su-fa-la-na would be near Midnapur.

If Wu-tu be Utkala, which apparently included Midnapur and Balasore districts Che-li-ta-lo would be Kontai or Hijli, In that case some place on the north or north-east of Midnapur and within about 700 li from Tamluk would be Kia-lo-na-su-fa-la-na. It would be between Midnapur and Hughli districts. There is, however, no such place there ; only a dead khal is called Kánsoná Khal as noticed already. The nearest approach to Karnasubarna would be Karnagarh. Hence also it may be taken that Karnagarh was Kia-lo-na-su-fa-la-na of Huen Chwang.

Thus the probability is strong that Karnagarh (near Midnapur) or Karnapur was Kia-lo-na-su-fa-la-na of Huen Chwang where he went from Támralipti. Thus Karnasubarna or Kánsoná in the Pabna district and within Paundravardhan Bhukti was the capital of Shashánka ; while Karnagarh on the north of Midnapur in Bhanjabhum was the place where Huen Chwang went direct from Tamralipti.

S. C. GHOSH.

EPICS OF THE AIR

The First Great Flight in England.

When in 1906 the Daily Mail offered a prize of £10,000 for the first flight between London and Manchester many people laughed. "As well offer it for a flight to the moon," said they. And really, judged by what had been accomplished in the air since the Wright brothers had made their pioneer attempt three years previously, scepticism was justified. The distance between the two great cities was not far short o 200 miles, and in the then state of aircraft a time limit of 24 hours within which the flight must be made seemed to secure that large prize for the paper which offered it. Lord Northcliffe was ever a visionary, but he was a practical visionary as witness his remarkable career and the manner in which he anticipated public requirements in the world of journalism—and then supplied those needs. He, at any rate, felt that the £10,000 cheque would be written.

So far practically all the flights attempted had been short, and over ground which would allow of a safe landing: here was a cross country route proposed fairly bristling with dangers for the airman: railways, rivers, canals, hills, roads and with only here and there a field large enough to land upon. True there was a silver streak to guide the man aloft—the main line of the London and North Western Railway. But here again there was one definite drawback. It was how would the aviator be sure that he was following the right track when so many left the main line at various points?

Nearly four years passed before the first attempt at the prize could be made. Then Claude Grahame-White who had been aloft several times in a Bleriot monoplane decided to acquire a later model of the Farman biplane type. After making several short but really successful flights with his new mount Grahame-White felt that he might enter the contest.

Little was known about long distance flights at that period, but this young aviator resolved that the whole question was one of getting aloft and keeping going steadily for as long as he could; alternatively he considered the point of division for such a long journey. He took a map and found that Rugby was almost equi-distant between Willesden (the London starting point which had to be within 5 miles of the Daily Mail Office) and the real objective—the landing place just outside Manchester. After careful calculation he felt satisfied that he could manage the 85 miles to Rugby and announced that he would make an early morning start with the idea that the whole of the trip could be accomplished within a single span of daylight.

He had a splendid send off from a big crowd who braved the early morning cold of an April day and saw the unwieldy-looking plane take the air soon after 5 A.M. The official starting point had been determined upon ; this was a gasometer at Wormwood Scrubs. This meant that Grahame-White could not sail straight off above the North-Western tracks. But he managed his circling of the gasometer safely and was soon flying strongly above the railway line to the north.

Considering the period, it was a marvellous achievement to reach Rugby safely within a couple of hours of the actual start.

The airman was full of enthusiasm which did not, however, keep warm his limbs and he was almost frozen when he climbed out from his Farman biplane and proceeded to get thoroughly warm.

Keen to be *en route* again Grahame-White cut down his stay at Rugby to a bare hour and then went aloft once more.

Quickly he found that two factors were now against him; first the engine was not running as well as it had been; secondly, he found that with the advance of daylight a strong wind was getting up. To-day a strong wind is merely a retarder of an aeroplane; then it was a positive danger, largely owing to the construction of the wings and the relatively weak engines used.

The airman held on tenaciously but at length, when near Lichfield, 117 miles out of the 183 accomplished, he had to descend. Ill fortune followed the descent for the wind had so increased in force blowing a veritable gale that he found it impossible to get up again and soon the 24 hour limit was reached and passed. Still another rebuff awaited the intrepid aviator; during the night the gale blew his machine right over and smashed it so badly that no further flying would be possible until it had been re-constructed. Whilst this work was being hurried forward since Grahame-White knew quite well that his partial success would spur on others, a young Frenchman landed in England, bringing with him some suspicious cases. When these were opened at Hendon it was soon apparent that a competitor of no mean worth was in the field.

The arrival of Louis Paulhan from France stimulated public interest in the flight and although there were still a majority of pessimists the general feeling was that one or the other of these airmen would carry off the £10,000. Which? Naturally all Englishmen wished their compatriot to be the fortunate fellow, yet with the usual sporting character of the race the general opinion inclined to a contest in which the best man should be the victor.

Work went forward on the preparation of the aeroplanes—White's at Wormwood Scrubs, Paulhan's at Hendon—later to be the site of one of our most famous flying grounds. Both machines had been built by that master in the production of the early aeroplanes—Henri Farman ; so in any case it must be a French victory as regards the mount though conceivably the jockey might be an Englishman.

Paulhan and his packing cases only arrived at Hendon in the early morning of the 27th of April; by afternoon the machine was ready.

No one thought that the aviator would do more than make a trial flight that day; instead he calmly announced his intention of setting off for Manchester forthwith! There were

attempts at dissuading him, his friends in some cases pointing out that he did not know how the aeroplane might behave; the engine might fail, it might need a nut here or a bolt there which had been omitted in the hasty assembling. Then there was the framework of the plane itself. Were the wings secure? To all these good people Paulhan had but one reply: "I'm going now."

The young Frenchman had detected an important factor in his favour—the wind which had served his rival so badly a few days before was now as quiet as it could be, therefore he would seize his opportunity and take the risk of his machine being sufficiently tuned up. The telegraph and telephone were invoked and at 5-30 P.M. observers having been placed in the required position Paulhan, took the air amidst a tremendous shout from those present.

He had made some useful preparations however which were to help him considerably. Thus a special train had been engaged in which travelled Mrs. Paulhan, friends and mechanics. This train started from Willesden Junction and it was arranged that it should follow, not lead the flight. With our 200 and 300 mile an hour planes of to-day it seems absurd that a train should have a look in with an aviator, then however the locomotive had something in hand.

A very useful guide had been set upon the railway; wherever a junction turned off from the main line a whitewashing of the main track had been made to indicate that the aviator was to keep straight on until he came to the important spot where he was to leave the main for the branch to Manchester; this, too, was plainly indicated.

The locomotive of the special was to give three blasts on its whistle to allow the airman to pick it out from other trains, whilst another indicator aboard the train was a white cloth floating from a window near the rear.

Paulhan flew steadily onwards until it was quite dark; then he looked for a suitable landing place which he found at Lichfield, the place which had been so fatal to Grahame-White. He

had the narrowest squeak in coming to the ground; only by a miracle did he and his plane escape disaster through telegraph wires.

An hour after Paulhan had got away. White was on his track. Actually he had intended starting the next day but on hearing that his rival was *en route* he decided to catch him if possible and let the contest be fought out there and then; if Paulhan failed, then White might win without giving the Frenchman a second chance.

White came down near Roade, some 60 miles from London and resolved to stay there the night, cheered somewhat to know that his rival was only 57 miles ahead This distance he felt sure he could pick up by getting in the air again before dawn, arguing that Paulhan would wait at Lichfield for daylight.

Never before had an aviator taken off in the darkness. By means of friendly motor headlights, White managed the business and was soon flying steadily northwards. Once his engine threatened trouble, but it picked up and he cleared the station buildings and followed the tracks. On until daylight allowed him to descend at a small place called Polesworth, not more than ten miles from the very point where Paulhan was busy setting off at almost the moment when White touched the ground. The descent at Polesworth cost Grahame-White the race for before he could get into the air again Paulhan, leaving Lichfield at 4-9 A.M. had sped so well towards Manchester that at 5-32 A.M. he was actually circling the landing field at Didsbury, the northern terminal of the flight. The train and the airman arrived together and another and most glorious chapter in air conquest had been completed.

Although our people would have liked their champion to gain that prize they gave the Frenchman the best cheer that he had probably ever heard and his achievement was recognised everywhere. There had been 242 minutes occupied in the actual flight, and it had been demonstrated to the world that the aeroplane was already so reliable that it was able to keep within

a schedule, which if it seems liberal to us, was thought an impossible barrier when it was announced. More than this it was shown that night flying was perfectly safe of itself and all that would be necessary now was for some guiding lights and properly lighted landing grounds to be ready for an airman to descend.

G. G. JACKSON

HISTORY OF TAXATION OF SALT UNDER THE RULE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.[1]

I

Introductory

Taxation of salt, though a familiar mode of realizing revenue from very ancient times and resorted to at one time or another in almost every country,[2] has a particularly long and instructive history behind it in India. It is the object of the present paper to unravel one eventful chapter of this long history, covering a century of the rule of the East India Company.

The oppressiveness of an impost of this kind in a proverbially poor country like India has seldom if ever been denied. And indeed even the most biased supporter of India's financial system has at no time ventured to give his unqualified approval of it. As we, therefore, look back through the long vista of India's financial history, we cannot but feel surprised at the incomparable pertinacity with which the British Government, ever since its supremacy was first established, has chosen, notwithstanding the mutations of time, to lay this heavy burden on a first necessary of life.

The official apology, plausible but by no means convincing, has always been that the adoption of this method of taxation, however grievously deplored, is with the Government for more reason than one an "uncomfortable necessity" for which "benevolence" suggests "no remedy" nor can "wisdom" find "any substitute." As J. W. Kaye puts it, "Where the millions live almost entirely on the produce of their ricefields,

[1] Based on Parliamentary papers and contemporary publications.

[2] See Jensen's Problems of Public Finance, pp. 303-4, quoted in Taxation Enquiry Committee's Report, Vol. I, p. 134.

with only a rag about their middle, and a few brass pots for their household goods, there is no very extensive field for the display of financial ingenuity. There are fifty different ways in which the English tax-gatherer may get at the poor man. But in India the approaches to the mud hut of the labourer are few and the tax-gatherer must advance by them or keep away altogether. He has been going for a long time along the same beaten roads. The people have learned to look for him in certain directions and even if better paths to their domiciles could be found, they would resent his approach by them." [1]

But the fact is, the Company's Government had not merely retained this old tax on the article, a legacy from the Muhammadan rulers, but had really enhanced it from a small beginning, to a very serious impost. To some extent the increase was no doubt due to the greater dependance of the British Government on broad imperial sources of revenue in preference to multitudinous petty local exactions of the old Moguls. But whatever the reason, the truth remains that the policy the British Government had consistently followed was to subject the consumption of salt in every province which came under its possession to a tax much higher than whatever existed under the administration of the native rulers. Thus it was that the salt tax had come to occupy a very prominent position in India's annual budget and during the greater part of the Company's administration the receipt from it ranked only next to land revenue in point of importance.[2]

A very important source of imperial revenue, the tax, however, was not equal in the different parts of the country. In almost all its essential features, whether it was the rate at which it was levied or the mode in which it was administered,

[1] J. W. Kaye's History of the Administration of the East India Company, pp. 142-43.

[2] See Dr. Pramathanath Banerjea's "The Financial Resources of the East India Company, Cal. Rev., Aug. 1927.

it was marked during the whole of our period by an absence of uniformity that was at once invidious and unjust. It was not till 1869, twelve years after the rule of the Company was brought to an end, that the problem of assimilating the diversities of conditions had received any attention from the Government.

It was however not without any reason that the salt tax was so heterogeneous. In the first place the varying conditions of the provinces had prevented the adoption of a uniform system throughout the whole of India. In those early years when communications between the far-divided portions of the Empire were extremely difficult, peculiarities of local circumstances and of social life could not be so easily ignored for the sake of uniformity. Moreover, in certain areas, either newly acquired or inhabited by wild tribes, any attempt to levy a tax equal to what prevailed in the more settled and advanced tracts, was discreetly avoided for it would have merely fostered serious discontent and caused a grave political danger. Again, since the whole of British India was won by gradual steps over a large number of years and not all at once, the introduction of the salt tax in one part was separated from that of another by lapse of years and was consequently influenced by the new circumstances and the new ideas that had arisen in the meanwhile. The elaboration of the salt tax in this patchy, haphazard and piecemeal fashion was therefore partly responsible for the rise of those wide divergences which perhaps would have been avoided, at least to a considerable extent, if the salt revenue system were excogitated for the whole of India at one period. Finally the fact that the Central Government itself had, during all these years, no clear and definite plan of financial administration was another potent reason why a centralised and unified system was not evolved. We shall now proceed to trace the history of taxation of salt in the different parts of the country from the very beginning of the Company's rule.

II

From 1761 to 1818.

For our present purpose, it is neither necessary nor is it in place to recount here the marvellous story how the East India Company, first founded in 1600, had, from a mere trading concern, arisen by negotiation and conquest to the sovereign authority over a large Empire in India. The English, as every schoolboy knows, had established their first supremacy in Bengal. The year 1757 which saw their victory in the field of Plassey made them the real power in the province. But for some time yet the power was to remain concealed behind the throne of the titular Nawabs, whom they themselves had successively set up. To all outward appearances, what the Company had obtained was only the rights of a mere zemindar and not of a sovereign over a large tract around Calcutta. We shall start with a very brief account of the duties that were imposed by the Company in these their own lands by virtue of their factorial rights.

Company's Lands.

These chowkey duties were collected on salt boats according to their size and there was also a Khallary rent of Rs. 3. per Khallary.[1] A further tax of 10 sicca rupees per 100 maunds was laid on salt made at some Khallaries. The reason why the said Khallaries were singled out for heavier tax was this. By the terms of the leases granted—this was afterwards made a standing order—the farmers were obliged to take upon themselves the balances due from the Molunghees (the salt-makers of Bengal) to the renters. But the Company's Government afterwards decided to pay off the outstanding claims out of their own funds and it was to re-imburse the sums so paid that the additional tax was levied upon the output of those Khallaries which were concerned. No

[1] Fourth Report of the Committee of Secrecy, 1773.

further material alteration was made in the above duties till 1765 when the Society of Trade was established.

Mir Kasim, whom the English had installed as Nawab of Bengal in place of Mir Jafar, their first nominee, was in no mood to play the puppet in their hands. A dispute was therefore inevitable between him and the English. The E. I. Co. had early obtained from the Mogul Emperor the privilege of trading duty-free. But the privilege was to apply to articles of seaborne commerce only. And in fact the Company itself had never carried on any inland trade. But the European servants of the Company, who, in their individual capacity, had frequently indulged, under the sanction of the Company's name, with the privilege that was only to be Company's, had gone a step further during the rule of Mir Jafar and claimed exemption from duties even in the inland trade of many articles such as salt, tobacco, etc. The imbecile Nawab was unable to resist their demands. On his accession in 1760 Mir Kasim at first owned the claim of the Company's servants to trade duty-free in salt and such other articles of internal commerce. Soon however the abuses of internal trade on the part of the Company's servants and their oppressive conduct had brought matters to such a pass that it was more than enough to tire out the patience even of a Job. An open rupture was however averted, though only for the time being, by an agreement that was arrived at between the Nawab on one side and Vansitart and Warren Hastings, the English representatives, on the other. It was agreed that the Company's servants would be charged a duty of 9% only, though the Indian merchants had to pay a duty of about 25%.[1] But even such favourable terms failed to satisfy the commercial cupidity of the Council at Calcutta which refused to ratify the agreement and merely consented to pay, as acknowledgment to the Nawab, a trifling duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$% on salt

[1] Hallward's William Bolts, p. 8, quoted in Dr. Sinha's Economic Annals of Bengal, p. 72.

alone, instead of 9% on all articles. "In his noble indignation" Mir Kasim then "did one of the best and most benevolent acts;" "he sacrificed his revenues and abolished all inland duties."[1] But even his power to remit duties was not admitted; the repeal of duties was held to be a breach of faith. It was out of this absurd claim of the English that the battle of Buxar (1764) arose—the battle that completed the work of Plassey and closed the story of the military conquest of Bengal. The conquerors then had their way. The inland duties were reimposed on the native merchants and the Company's servants obtained exemption from all duties except 2½% on salt.

The news of the disgraceful conduct of the employees of the Company had already reached the Court of Directors in London. The battle of Buxar proved a rude awakening to them. In a despatch of the 8th February, 1764, and received in India on the 13th of July, they communicated their strong resentment against the "unwarrantable and licentious" manner of carrying on the trade by the Company's servants and peremptorily asked their employees to keep themselves within the proper sphere of foreign trade and never to participate in the internal commerce of the country. But their order was treated with scant courtesy.[2]

Dewani tracts. (Bengal, Behar and Orissa.)

Anxious to put an end to the disorders, the Court of Directors sent out Clive again as Governor of Bengal. Clive reached Calcutta in May, 1765. Shortly after he obtained the Dewani of Bengal (including Sylhet and Goalpara, at present in Assam), Behar and Orissa.[3] The transaction was designed to give "a

[1] R. C. Dutt's Economic History of India under Early British Rule, pp. 29-30.

[2] The letter from the Court of Directors to the Governor and Council at Bengal, dated 15th February, 1765, ran as follows: "We have such an entire confidence in Lord Clive's great abilities and good intentions, that we make no doubt these great abuses will be the particular objects of his care and attention and that he will be able to carry these our orders effectually into execution."

[3] At the time Orissa comprised only Midnapur and part of the Hughly district.

show of legality to the Company's irregular position " of the *de facto* ruler of the country. Clive found that salt was the chief of several articles of inland trade which had passed entirely into the hands of the Company's servants as individuals by their usurpation of the privilege of exemption from duties. He could not however rise to the height of the occasion as was expected and demanded of him by the Court of Directors.[1] He and his colleagues formed a Society of Trade consisting of the leading servants of the Company to carry on the inland trade in salt, tobacco and betelnut.[2]

The Society had the exclusive right, at first for one year only, of trading in the above articles. Salt, betelnut or tobacco, produced in or imported into Bengal, could be purchased by none else. In the first-named article the Society had, in practice, a monopoly of manufacture as well. The profits of the Society, after payment of certain fixed duties to the Company as Dewan, were to be distributed among the three first classes of covenanted servants in certain definite proportions, adjusted in order of their seniority. The Company's servants were to receive these dividends ; for their salaries were considered to be inadequate and in the opinion of Clive's Government they could not possibly be assured of any suitable income from the "limited amount of lawful trade" which was open to them. The duty fixed on salt was 35% *ad valorem*, valuing salt @ Arcot Rs. 90 for every hundred maunds. The

[1] Dr. J. C. Sinha in his ' Economic Annals of Bengal ' (p. 75) gives a somewhat different version. According to him, Clive " proposed to the Court of Directors the abolition of inland trade in salt, betelnut and tobacco by the Company's servants. But as the Court of Proprietors urged the continuance of this trade to the Company's servants under some limitations, the Court of Directors ordered the Governor and Council, etc.....". The author does not, however, indicate his source of information. The writer of the present paper bases his statement on the Fourth Report of the Committee of Secrecy, 1773, certainly quite authentic on the point, where the implication is very clear about the entire responsibility of Clive and his colleagues in the matter.

[2] The reader may here notice that Vincent Smith in his Oxford History of India, (p. 502), a widely used textbook on the subject, makes a curious misstatement that the Society of Trade dealt in salt, betel-leaf and opium.

above valuation was calculated and fixed "according to the best judgment we (the Governor-in-Council) can form, the value of the trade in general and the advantage which may be expected to accrue from each to the proprietors."[1]

The duty of 35 %, charged on account of the Company, may be regarded as the starting point of taxation of salt under the British administration. Obviously, salt tax in the British regime had a peculiar beginning. For, it is to be observed that the tax in its origin was not the outcome of a definitely adopted fiscal policy but was merely subservient to some other object which was altogether different. And its historical interest is still further enhanced by the fact that this peculiar origin was indeed in a large measure instrumental in giving to the mode of realising this revenue a form which proved to be more than local and temporary.

It is perhaps superfluous to add that to measure the entire burden of the tax to which the people were subjected by the above-mentioned arrangement we have to take into account not merely the duty but the monopoly gains of the Society of Trade as well. And the actual price was further raised to the consumer in the market by the necessary want of economy, not to say extravagances, connected with monopoly and by the many speculations and extortions which were inevitable in such a system carried on with such instruments. In 1764 and the beginning of 1765 the wholesale price at Calcutta used to vary from 80 to about 100 Sicca Rupees per hundred bazar maunds.[2] In 1766 it was recorded to have been Rs. 2

[1] Bengal Select Consultations, dated 18th September, 1765, respecting the plan for carrying on the Inland trade.

[2] See appendix No. 76 to the Report of the Select Committee on Salt, 1836—Paper of J. Crawford submitted to the Committee, and also his evidence before the Committee (reply to Q. 416). But one cannot be certain if the price were not even less than that. We quote below the evidence of F. J. Halliday, 30th June, 1853, before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1853 ;—'I have seen it stated in print that in 1765, for example, it was actually brought to market, in Calcutta, at 4 annas a maund including all the expenses of manufacture and transit, before the Government interference. It is

per maund. It was but natural that "a monopoly of the necessaries of life in any hands whatever, more especially in the hands of the Company's servants, who were possessed of such an overwhelming influence," would be greatly abused. And it was so much the worse that a large part of the tax realised from the people did not find its way into the public treasury. But one great merit of the Society of Trade was that it imparted to the reckless monopoly of the individual merchants a more wholesome form. Its establishment brought stability in the price of salt which, for ostensible reasons, had fluctuated very much in the years which had just preceded it.

The Court of Directors again and again expressed their strong disapproval of the whole affair.[1] And in their despatch of the 17th May, 1766, they wrote to say, "We consider it as too disgraceful and below the dignity of our present situation, to allow of such a monopoly, and were we to allow of it under any restrictions, we should consider ourselves as assenting and subscribing to all the mischiefs which Bengal has presented to us for these 4 years past. At the same time we do not mean that the ancient duties upon those commodities, which constitute part of the revenues of Bengal, should be abolished but we leave the adjustment of those duties to your judgment and consideration."

The Company's servants were extremely reluctant to abandon the profitable trade in salt. Notwithstanding the letter of the Court of Directors of the 19th February, 1766, which distinctly forbade their servants to have any concern "in the trade of the three articles, whatever unforeseen circumstances

stated also by a Mr. Bolts in his evidence before Parliamentary Committee in 1773, that he, a European concerned with natives and therefore probably subject to a good deal of expense more than the native manufacturer would be liable to, actually produced salts and brought it to market in Calcutta @ Rs. 55 per hundred maunds." (Reply to Q. 7598.)

[1] See the letters from the Court of Directors to the Governor and Council at Bengal, dated 24th December, 1765, and 19th February, 1766.

might arise," Lord Clive's Government decided in the following September to grant a fresh lease of life to the Society of Trade, on the ground that "at the time of writing the above letter, the Court of Directors could not have had the least idea of the favourable change in the affairs of the province, whereby the interest of the Nabob with regard to salt was no longer immediately concerned." The despatch of the 17th May, too, remained equally unheeded.

But when the term of the Society of Trade was extended, a few of its more objectionable features were left out. The operations of the company with regard to trade were restricted merely to wholesale transactions in Calcutta and certain other manufacturing places. A maximum limit of Rs. 2 was prescribed for the wholesale price of salt. The people were thus safeguarded against being squeezed by the grasping instinct of a powerful monopolistic concern and so far the change was a distinct improvement. All Europeans, whether in the employ of the Company or not, and even their native servants were debarred from the retail business. Arrangements were also made to keep the retail price of salt in the interior within some definite limit and consequently the retail price was fixed "at every town market or village where it was sold according to the distance and former custom." But control of prices, which has proved so difficult even in our modern enlightened age, was naturally futile. In the new arrangement the Company's share was increased from 35 to 50%, apparently as a sop to the home authorities.

It is difficult to estimate with any degree of accuracy the annual revenue that was obtained by the Company during the regime of the Society of Trade. The Society was allowed considerable laxity in the management of its affairs and was treated with great indulgence in its relation to the Government. Before its establishment the farmers or renters of salt works had to pay the rents or duties within the year by twelve equal monthly instalments. But the Society was systematically permitted to be in heavy arrears as regards its obligation to the

Government. It was allowed to appropriate to its own use Khallary rents and salt duties of the Company's own lands in Calcutta and yet large sums were paid out of the Company's treasury to sundry people for salt balances.[1]

The despatch of the Court of Directors of November, 1767, sounded the death-knell of the Society of Trade. It was definitely and firmly ordered that the manufacture and sale of salt should be thrown open to private enterprise.[2] Salt was to be taxed in the form of a moderate excise duty so that the wholesale price of salt might not rise above Sicca Rs. 140 for one hundred maunds. The Court of Directors also insisted that all Europeans, whether in or out of a Company's service, would keep themselves aloof not merely from trade but also from manufacture.

In August, 1768, the Governor in Council appointed a Committee to inform themselves of every particular circumstance about the salt trade so that they might adopt the best plan conformable to the spirit of the above order. The report of the Committee was considered in October. The monopoly was replaced by an open and free system. Thus came to an end Lord Clive's short-lived and ill-famed Society of Trade.

In accordance with the recommendation of the Committee, the duty, both excise and import, was fixed at Sicca Rs. 30 per hundred maunds of salt produced or imported.[3] The duty was to

[1] The sum appropriated during the years 1765 and 1766 amounted to Rs. 2,36,010.—Fourth Report of the Committee of Secrecy, 1773.

[2] The despatch, dated 20th November, 1767, was received in Bengal on the 31st May, 1768.

[3] The Court of Directors had proposed to raise the import duty. But the Committee that sat on the question had expressed the following opinion: ".....if these duties are increased and at the same time country salt lowered in its price, it will be a discouragement in general to shipping, and may in the end be detrimental to the Company by their not finding a vend for the salt made at Masulipatam and their lands on the coast,..... will also be a great hardship on the poor of this country as they now purchase foreign salts at a price from Rs. 50 to Rs. 60 per hundred maunds less than the salt manufactured in Bengal; and as the quantity of foreign salt imported here does not prevent the whole of what is produced in the country being consumed, the Company will not suffer in their duties by it."

be levied not at the pans but all salt produced had to be brought to some specified places and the tax was collected there. "To prevent as much as possible any one family or set of merchants combining together or in any shape establishing a monopoly,"[1] it was provided that no one person should make more than 50,000 maunds of salt. The Europeans were at first shut out from the trade but soon after in pursuance of instructions sent by the Court of Directors in 1769, the disability was removed towards the beginning of 1770.[2]

The experiment, however, proved a failure from the financial point of view. When the plan was adopted, it was anticipated that the proceeds of the tax would at least come up to ₹100,000. But during the four years from 1769-70 to 1772-73 the average receipt of the Government was only £48,628 approximately. Thus the actual revenue fell short of the estimate by more than 50% and that of the year just preceding the change by nearly 60%.

The big drop in the revenue was not due to any inherent defect of the excise system nor was it a proof of its unsuitability for the country. It was during this period that the terrible famine of 1770 which "turned a third of the country as a jungle inhabited by wild beasts" had visited the land. But to a far greater extent the fall-off in the revenue is accounted for by the extensive smuggling that the Exclusive Company had carried on all the while. Even though its authority to manufacture salt had gone, it pretended that it had to clear off its old stock and in that way it had continued for five long years competing unfairly with honest traders and defrauding the Government of its proper share of revenue. The Committee of Secrecy computed the loss occasioned by the malversation of the Company to be upwards of £400,000 during the six years of its existence from 1765 to 1772.

[1] *Vide* Government Consultation, 7th October, 1768.

[2] *Vide* Fourth Report of the Committee of Secrecy, 1773, p. 12.

There are other evidences to show that the system had not had its fair trial. Corruption among public officials was quite common.[1] Again, native salt makers and salt merchants were not free from molestation in the hands of their more powerful rivals, the European traders.[2] We also find it mentioned that in two instances the Nawab had ordered a reduction of the established duties upon 2,33,022 maunds of salt belonging to a "black merchant."[3]

Warren Hastings was appointed Governor of Bengal in 1772. At that time the Company's financial position was far from satisfactory. Hastings tried to improve the finances as best as he could. Since Clive's monopoly through the agency of the Exclusive Company was abolished the receipts on account of salt revenue had fallen very low. The Excise system might have been better as an ideal but for all practical purposes it had failed, whatever might have been the reason of its failure. In the hope that salt might prove a sufficiently productive source of revenue, Warren Hastings was thrown back upon Clive's weapon of monopoly as an effective mode of raising revenue. It was determined that the "salt should be made for the Company." The monopoly of a company was thus transferred into the monopoly of the state.[4] Clive's monopoly was not quite

[1] The Fourth Report of the Committee of Secrecy quotes a letter of the Select Committee which contains among other things, the following remark ".....and we must here observe that we suspect the Fauzder of Hughley either to have been extremely negligent in his duty or dishonest in the management of the business committed to his charge." The Select Committee wrote the same sentiments in their letter to the Court of Directors, of the 31st October, 1770.

[2] For instance the Committee of Secrecy (Fourth Report) referred to an incident that not long after the opening of the trade to the Europeans, an agent of Charles Floyer & Co., declaring that he acted on account of the Governor in Council, forcibly seized, for his company large quantities of salt belonging to the native salt makers of several localities.

[3] Letter from the Supervisor at Hughley, dated 6th May, 1771, quoted in the Fourth Report of the Committee of Secrecy, 1773.

[4] This monopolisation on account of the Government does not appear to have come under discussion in any of the despatches from the Directors who had previously reprobated in strong terms the idea of suffering this necessary of life to be engrossed on any condition whatsoever. See Report from the Select Committee appointed to examine the Report of the Directors of the East Indian Company, June 22nd, 1784.

straightforward. Even Clive himself did not feel quite sure of the propriety of his measure; he regarded it more as an expediency. Besides, the revenue of the state was there, so to say, a by-product; the monopoly was, as we observed, primarily designed for an altogether different object. Any direct association of the Government itself in the trade of the article was farthest from his mind and even conflicting with his idea of the dignity of the state.[1] Warren Hastings who elevated it into a great fiscal principle did naturally try to base his claim upon some solid foundation. He stood upon the right that the original property in all salt manufactured in the country belonged to the Company. It had, in his opinion, inherited this right along with other prerogatives from the Moghul Government by which it was exclusively held.[2] An advocate of a fixed settlement of land on the basis of the recognition of the Zeminders as land-owners, Fracis, however, naturally insisted that the salt revenue "should in future be by way of duty only."[3]

But it should be noted that the particular mode in which Bengal's salt tax was to be levied was more the outcome of the drift of special historical circumstances peculiar to the time than a well-thought-out plan adopted after a careful balancing of the respective merits and demerits of the two rival systems of monopoly and excise. It was long before the question was at all discussed with seriousness if the one or the other were a more desirable mode of raising revenue.

It is an open question if the monopoly of salt were a device of British mercantile administration or if the salt trade

[1] See his letter as President and Governor of Bengal to the Court of Directors, dated 30th September, 1765, concerning regulations for carrying on the salt trade. "I at first intended to propose that the Company and their servants should be jointly and equally concerned in the trade itself, but upon better consideration, I judged that plan to be rather unbecoming the dignity of the company."

[2] See the evidence of T. L. Peacock (Asstt. Examiner of Indian Correspondence, before the Select Committee on Salt, 1836. Answer to Q. 769.)

[3] See Sixth Report of the Select Committee, 1781-82; Plan of Mr. Francis, 22nd January, 1776, App. 14.

in Bengal had been, as was asserted by Lord Clive, a monopoly from time immemorial.[1] It had been contented that under the Muhammadans a few favourite Moguls or foreign merchants used to enjoy, on the basis of an annual payment, the exclusive privilege of the country's entire trade in the commodity and "the virtue and political economy of British Administration had merely resumed with improvements the hitherto misapplied source of public supply "and converted" a former source of partial individual benefit" to "public utility."[2] But the authentic information to the contrary that under the Government of the Nawabs the duty on salt made in Bengal was 2½% paid by the Mussalmans and 5% by the Hindus"[3] throws some doubt on the extent and character of the monopoly. It seems probable, as Harington points out on the authority of an extract from the report of Messrs. Anderson, Crofts and Bogle, that a customs house duty was levied on the transportation of salt in addition to the profit arising from the exercise or grant of an exclusive privilege.[4] It however seems clear that under the Muhammadans, "only the principle of monopoly existed, the right of the government to monopolise everything."[5] It was for the English Government to extend the principle very largely and to evolve the very rigid form of monopoly outlined above.

Though monopoly was decided upon as a broad general principle, yet the actual way in which it was to be worked was not finally settled without considerable difficulty. Hastings

[1] See Ninth Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1783.

[2] See "An Historical and Comparative Analysis of the Finances of Bengal from the Moghul Conquest to the Present Time." Extracted from a Political Survey of the British Dominions and Tributary Dependencies in India by Mr. James Grant. Appendix No. 4 to the Fifth Report of the Select Committee on East Indian Affairs, 1812. Firminger's edition, Vol. II, P. 261.

[3] Report of Mahomed Reza Khan, cited in the Fourth Report of the Committee of Secrecy, 1773, p. 13.

[4] Harington's Analysis of Bengal Regulations, Vol. III, p. 659.

See evidence of Hugh Stark before Select Committee on East Indian Affairs. 1831-32; his answer to Qs. 498-500.

himself had to try three schemes in succession. His first scheme is briefly described.

Every year applications were invited from merchants for the quantity of salt that each would like to purchase. After the allotment was made, each merchant had to pay down a sum equal to three-fourths of his allotted share. The sum thus obtained was handed over to the manufacturers as working capital and the salt works were leased to them for a term of five years on condition that the farmers would manufacture exclusively for the Government and would annually supply the quantity asked for. They received the usual price of half a rupee a maund for all salt supplied. They had to pay a penalty, if the supply were deficient of the contracted amount. But if they supplied more, they received a premium of an additional half a rupee for every maund of the excess. After the manufacturing season was over, the merchant, on payment of the balance of the stipulated price which included a fixed duty, could take delivery of the salt.

It should be apparent from the above that though Hastings had adopted monopoly in order to obtain revenue, yet he had done so as a matter of administrative convenience and not with the view of extorting out of the people the maximum of tax that the country could bear. He had wisely decided to fix a price with a definite amount of duty added to it.

During the first year of its operation (1773-74), a net revenue of £229,192 was produced. But in the following year the revenue declined to almost half the sum (£130,206) and in the third there was a net loss of £1,473. The failure was chiefly due to the corruption of local officials.[1]

Warren Hastings next introduced the simple farming system in 1777. It was a change very much for the worse. Salt works were let out on the best terms obtained. It was

[1] We find for instance that Ganga Gobinda Sing was dismissed from his station of Naib Dewan on the petition of Kamaluddin, salt farmer at Hijly, on the charge of deduction of a certain sum from the salt advances. See appendix No. 17, Sixth Report of the Select Committee, 1781-82.

exactly the method he had adopted with regard to arable lands. Merchants were no longer required to make any advance nor did the manufacturers receive any advance from the Government.

It may be observed that the new system involved a fundamental change in the method of taxation. The levy was no longer directly on salt but it was on the pans that produced it. As such, the proceeds of the tax were akin to land revenue rather than to receipts of an indirect tax on a consumable commodity. But the question of classification apart, the change had neither altered the real character of the salt tax nor in any way affected its incidence. It may no doubt be plausibly argued that with the introduction of the farming system the salt tax virtually ceased to exist, yielding its place to what should properly be called rent on salt lands. But it should be well to bear in mind that there is one great ostensible difference between individual landlords and the Government as one big monopolist owner claiming rents. In the first case, it can hardly exceed the economic rent, provided sufficient competition exists. But in the second, the assessment, either from ignorance in the absence of sufficient data or from the pressure of financial exigencies, may easily exceed the just measure of rent, operating as a tax on the produce. In fact it is very difficult to confine the Government demand within the limits of rent. And in face of the fact that salt lands were distributed by auction to the highest bidders, especially in those days when foreign salt imported did not prevent the whole of what was produced in the country from being consumed,[1] he would be very bold indeed who would contend for a moment that the imposition was anything but a tax.

The system, thus adopted, was open to very serious objections. The actual amount of tax that the people were called upon to pay as also the sum that the State was to receive did thereby become something indeterminable and liable to serious

[1] From the Report of the Committee appointed by the Governor-in-Council on the 11th Aug., 1768, for laying down a plan on the Salt trade in conformity to the orders of the Court of Directors of November, 1767.

fluctuations from year to year. In other words, the salt tax was made the weathercock of caprices, manipulations and all the multitudinous influences of an unregulated market. It was the virtual abandonment of any principle in taxation. But in justice to Hastings it must be said that the farming system, though theoretically indefensible, was authorised by the ancient and general usage of the country.

It may incidentally be here observed, if only to show the wide contrast that separated the two countries on both sides of the waters, that it was just in the previous year that Adam Smith had published his epoch-making treatise, where he emphasised not only the need of an ethical principle equitably adjusting the tax burdens of the different classes, but also that of certainty as *sine qua non* of a well-devised tax-system. We are further told that in the same year (1777) North, in England, while framing his budget, was having recourse to this work for suggestions of an appropriate tax which would not only be productive but at the same time equitable.[1] But Hastings refused to profit by its counsels for Francis indeed had actually quoted from the great economist the relevant passage as he entered his protest against the above system.[2]

The new system began well. It produced in the first year (1776-77) a revenue of £139,012 which was greater than that of any of the years of the preceding scheme save 1773-74. But the sunshine of financial prosperity was to pass away too soon. In the second year the revenue fell off by more than 60 per cent. There was a slight improvement in the third year. Then it began to decline again with great rapidity and in 1780-81 it had touched the bottom and stood at the very low figure of £8,427. It also appears that under the farming system the Mobughees (as the salt makers of Bengal were called) were subjected to very great hardships in the hands of the capitalist

[1] S. Dowell, History of Taxation in England.

[2] Sixth Report of the Select Committee, 1781-82. Extract of Fort William Revenue Consultations, 5th Nov. 1776.

farmers.[1] This was only a necessary corollary of the vicious system itself.

Scheme after scheme had been tried and found wanting. At last Hastings after long years of unsuccessful experiment, evolved a system that was to be stable. In all the more important features his system remained practically unmodified till the very last days when it was, as we shall have occasion to see, rendered inoperative by the complete disappearance of the local industry in the face of foreign competition.

His scheme, commonly known as the agency system, was briefly as follows. A Controller was appointed at the head of the Salt Department. Subordinate to him, there were to be Agents, civil officers of rank, in direct charge of one, and in a few cases of more, of the several agencies into which the salt producing areas were divided. The function of the Agents was to settle with the Mobughees every year at the beginning of the manufacturing season the terms on which the latter would supply the salt. It was also their look out to do all that was necessary to maintain a steady and regular supply of salt and to guard against smuggling. The Mobughees could produce only on account of the Government. They were however allowed to retain for themselves a certain amount for their own consumption in which they were exempted from paying any tax. The salt was then stored at the Agency *golahs* from which it was disposed of to the wholesale merchants at a price fixed by the Government.

The actual expense of manufacturing salt did, as was but natural, vary within certain limits from year to year. But, generally speaking, it cost Government eight, twelve or fourteen annas a maund according to differences in local circumstances regarding cost of labour, facilities for obtaining fuel, and the situation of the manufacturing grounds with reference to the supply of brine. The sale price (Rs. 2 a maund) fixed by the

[1] Ninth Report of the Select Committee, 1783 *Vide* Dr. J. C. Sinha's Economic Annals of Bengal, p. 188, for a glaring instance of oppression quoted from Beveridge's District of Backerganj.

Government was thus considerably above the actual cost of production so that the difference between the two approximately constituted the tax on salt.

We should also bear in mind that due to the artificial and not infrequently injudicious selection of sites in the agency system, some of the agencies were quite uneconomical and would certainly have been abandoned, if production were left to the process of natural selection. So even when we make proper allowance for the more convenient supply of the interior by agencies scattered over a wide area, the conclusion is forced upon us that the agency system in diverting production out of its natural channel and forcing it anywhere except the cheapest, tantamounted to the imposition of an additional tax on the consumer without any corresponding benefit to the public exchequer.

The agency system was eminently successful. In 1781-82 the first year of its operation, the total revenue obtained was £296,013 and in 1784-85 it mounted up to £625,747, a figure that salt revenue had never reached before. So great was the complacency of Hastings that he compared his achievement to the bloodless conquest of a kingdom.[1]

[1] "The measure which produced this fund was not only of my formation but undertaken against the judgment of all my colleagues and barely suffered to pass with the responsibility of it, at my own reiterated instance, thrown exclusively on myself for its success.

"The conquest of a foreign principality which has added half a million of pounds sterling to the national income, a splendid extension of dominion and a large store of lucrative offices to ministerial patronage, though purchased with the blood of thousands, maintained with an enormous expense of fortresses and military garrisons, and the hazard of national disgrace, with the loss of it, would have crowned the warrior, by whose fortunate valour it was won, with deathless glory; and votes of parliamentary thanks, bonfires and illuminations, would have proclaimed his praise and the public triumph. A bloodless accession of public income, gained by the silent operation of official arrangements, perpetuated in its duration, and fixed in its value by its inherence to the essence of the State itself unencumbered with military establishments and frontier defences, and administering subsistence to a whole people, both in its immediate distribution as a necessary of life, and by the returns of a foreign commerce, is allowed to sink unnoticed in the blended accounts of the general treasury, because it was not produced by any of those efforts of the mind to which human pride has affixed the claim of renown, and in which every man appropriates to himself a share of the national glory." See Memoirs of Warren Hastings, pp. 127-28.

PARIMAL RAY

POSTURES

"Where nobody gets old and godly and grave,
Where nobody gets old and crafty and wise,
Where nobody gets old and bitter of tongue."

W. B. Yeats.

Jan., 1929.

At some time or other over the adolescent mentality hovers the shadow of "getting old," the spectre of decay and death. One may be in the very spring-tide of existence, enjoying uninterrupted vitality and still-expectant ambition, yet suddenly be aware, to the astonishment of those who experience its reality, of the impending autumn of life, a prevision of the end towards which one is ever approaching. Of a surety this foreboding does not often cloud the healthy mind; the Damocleian sword is all but invisible to our mercifully obtuse sensibilities.

"The skies, they are not always raining,
Nor grey the twelve month through,"

sings the poet, and in our youth we are more given to dreaming delightful futures than brooding upon past failures or anticipating new defeats. Yet, with all our hope, the subtle erosions of every day that eat into our lives become, of a sudden, all too apparent; we see ourselves as one disfigured might behold for the first time unbandaged her once lovely face in the glass. Years of false comfort drop away from us; we stand naked and shivering to the winds of time. And always before these emotional crises comes a perceptible lull in our activities. Perhaps we are lying outstretched on the warm sands after bathing or staring idly through a window at drab skies; may be we are sitting strangely calm after recent exultation, or merely pausing for a moment in the pursuit of our daily routine. But whatever the complexion of our thoughts, or however contented we may have been up to that minute, is as inconsequent as the

passage of a cloud in summer. Without warning the nameless horror confronts us. We are thrust into the presence of decay, of inevitable rottenness, and of death. We become terribly aware of our gross and uncertain physical texture. We can almost feel, with the invalid Thompson, "the turn o' the worm" beneath our "appointed sod." From a compact young person of twenty or so we are rapidly transmuted into an impermanent clockwork of ill-assorted bones and protoplasm. Heartbeats cease to be heartbeats; they become a monotonous funeral knell.

I have known a multitude of otherwise happy hours marred by this sense of canker and ultimate dissolution; mornings when the chance irritation of a broken tooth in the mouth has sufficed to annul the benison of early sunshine; whole days spoilt by the thought of wearing spectacles, while one's sight grows steadily weaker, until even strenuous discontent must be undermined and perish with old age.

Then suddenly all these thoughts (though true enough in their time) are blown clean out of mind. We rejoice; our insane appetites for existence lead us to wallow in Barbellion and Brook; we ape bacchantic frenzies; we forget that we are dying. "Gold is the world, and my heart's golden," we shout to a rejuvenated universe. Plans are made whereby we shall leave our mark on Time—we dream of fame, love and the satisfaction of great things achieved. Our new-found vitality (as though sagely uncertain of its present home) strives pitifully for some permanent establishment among the chiselled stone and chanted verses of art. We even resolve to take the fields of action by storm, to win our Waterloos instead of dreaming them; though, idlers and weaklings as we are, born out of our "due time," it is only too obvious that we shall never have strength enough to elucidate our own halting reveries, much less act the *Role Splendide* to an admiring gallery.

Like a sea-anemone in mid-current we sway in the tides of life, and like the anemone's our little frenzies count for nothing

in the end. When our youth has flowed over us inaction alone remains; we are left to wonder at former melodramatic postures, to deplore those splendidly exuberant forces that promised us so much and gave so little, and to stand stiffly erect with our time-frayed edges until neap tide and high tide alike lose significance to those who can differentiate no longer between them.

June, 1929.

Reading the above lines in the critical light of day, while trams rattle and jolt across rusty points and car horns hoot plaintively down dirty, industrious streets, I realise how absurd it is for me to attempt to write in placid, close-woven sentences of emotional crises and swift spiritual experience. A young man's ideas suffer change and moderation so swiftly; almost, as it were, before the ink is well dry upon the paper. Posture succeeds posture and belief tramples upon belief; and yet one is not, however vacillating or apparently affected, entirely trivial, entirely vain. The first attraction of youth surely lies in its prolific exuberance, in its often amusing efforts to find mental adjustment and that peace of mind which is its own denial.

> "Through winter-time we call on spring
> And through the spring on summer call,
> And when abounding hedges ring
> Declare that winter's best of all;
> And after that there's nothing good
> Because the spring-time has not come—
> Nor know that what disturbs our blood
> Is but its longing for the tomb."

That, as you may recall, is from Yeat's "The Tower." It is the work of a poet long past his first youth, a man of sixty and more, and yet how aptly it serves to illustrate the eternal youthfulness of his emotions! Ebullience, vitality and pride are all there, as insistent and pronounced as ever they were. Few men indeed of his age can boast such unimpaired sensitivity and vehemence of thought and speech. Nor need one look far for the reason.

I believe that all those longings which attack us from time to time, such as nostalgia, the desire of possessing a wife or son, or the strange, formless urge of ambition, are but an unconscious expression of our desire to make life static, whereas it flows over and about us so rapidly. We want to make life, or at least the pleasant side of life, permanent, eternal—and the will is upon us to probe our experiences for some inner mysterious meaning.

And this meaning that we seek should, in one respect at least, be obvious. For, of course, they "mean themselves;" and who shall doubt what the end is to be when the means to that end merit so much consideration and questioning in their own right alone? In youth our attitude is hopelessly and wisely pagan towards the abundant beauty of creation, and when old age has visited us and death comes upon us at least, let us hope that, without bringing justifiable accusations upon ourselves of sensuality and "materialism," we may echo the sentiments of Flecker's Don Juan,

> "Life was a ten-course banquet after all,
> And neatly rounded by my funeral."

F. V. WELLS

ŚAṄKARA ON THE NATURE OF THE SUBJECT

The term subject has been used in two entirely different ways in European philosophy, as the subject of knowledge, the knower ; and again, as the subject of a logical sentence. But Jñātā or Pramātā, which corresponds to the subject in the former sense, has no other meaning in Indian philosophy ; and when we use the term subject throughout our discussion, we mean the knower.

The first question we may ask is : Who is the subject? This question would not have much value in European philosophy, for it would generally be attributed to Mind except by a few philosophers like Plotinus, Wolfe, Kant and Bradley, but in Indian philosophy the claims of Manas and Ātman to be called the subject have been discussed threadbare. In the Nyāya Sutra[1] and Vātsyāyana Bhāsya[2] mind has been regarded as an organ of sense. Our organs of sense, like the eyes, etc., give us knowledge of the external world, while the mind which is an internal organ of sense (अन्तःकरण) gives us knowledge of such experiences as pleasure and pain. If we ask why should we assume an organ of sense for experiencing pleasure and pain, Vātsyāyana has an answer for it. Nobody can deny that the organs have entirely distinct spheres of activity and one organ cannot give us knowledge outside its own sphere. The eye only gives colour, the ear gives sound only, but not *vice versa*. The same is true of the remaining three organs. If so, we can safely assert, he says, that none of these five organs can give us knowledge about pleasure and pain, though both of them must come through a source, an organ, which is the mind.

[1] 3. 1. 16-17.

[2] रूपादिभ्यश्च विषयान्तरं सुखादयः तदुपलब्धौ करणान्तरसद्भावः । 3.1.17.

A similar view is held by the Sāṃkhya where it is called the eleventh organ. Īśvarakṛṣṇa in his Sāṃkhya Kārikā after naming the five organs of jñāna (*viz.*, eyes, etc.), and the five organs of karma (*viz.*, tongue, etc.), says that Manas is an organ which partakes of the characteristics of both sets, *viz.*, the organs of jñāna, and the organs of karma.[1] Gauḍapāda also commenting on this says that since it performs the action of the organs of jñāna and karma alike, it belongs to both.[2]

The mind is, therefore, as much an organ of sense as the eyes, etc., the only difference being that the former is an internal organ, while the latter are external. Śaṅkara also called the mind an **अन्तःकरण** though he does not adduce any argument in favour of this theory, for, perhaps, he assumed the arguments put forward by the Nyāya and Sāṃkhya Schools.

Now, it can easily be understood that those who look upon the mind as an organ of sense cannot call it the subject, for organs are means through which some other entity derives knowledge, or in other words they are the channels of knowledge for the Ātman which is the subject. The real subject is what the Nyāya and Vedānta call Ātman, and the Sāṃkhya calls Puruṣa. Śaṅkara also agrees with them that the mind is not the real subject, the subject is other than the mind: **"ननु मनसः सर्वमेव मन्तव्यम्। सत्यमेव। तथापि सर्वमपि मन्तव्यं मन्तारमन्तरेण न मन्तुं शक्यम्।"**[3] Well the mind can think upon everything yes, it is so. Yet it cannot think upon things without a thinker. This statement clearly proves two things, firstly, that the mind is only an organ and the mind 'thinks' only in the sense in which the eye 'sees'; secondly, that there is an entity, distinct from the mind, which is the real subject.

Śaṅkara has another argument, which is characteristically his own, for refusing to call the mind the subject. 'The mind

[1] Kārikā, 27.

[2] Commentary to Kārikā, 27.

[3] Introduction to the Aitareya Bhāṣya, Ch. II.

is,' says Śaṅkara, as much an object of thought as anything else, or in other words we know the mind as we know a stone or a tree. Now when, we know the mind, certainly there is an entity which knows. The very fact that the mind is known, shows that there is a knower, or in other words the mind is an object for a distinct and different entity which is the subject. "**मनस्त्वहींति चेन्न। मनसोऽपि विषयत्वाद् रूपादिवत् द्रष्टृत्वाद्यनुपपत्तेः।**"[1] The mind cannot be called the Ātman because it is as much an object of thought as colour, etc., and so we cannot attribute the quality of a subject to the mind. This assertion proves firstly, that the mind is an object and not a subject ; and secondly, that the quality of the knower belongs to the Ātman. The second deduction perhaps, requires some explanation. **मनस्त्वहींति चेन्न**—Is mind then the Ātman ? No. **द्रष्टृत्वाद्यनुपपत्तेः**—Because it cannot be called the subject. Why can it not be called the subject ? **मनसोऽपि विषयत्वाद् रूपादिवत्**—Because the mind is an object of thought like colour, etc. The mind is not the Ātman because it is not the subject ; and it is not a subject because it is an object like colour, etc. It is clear, therefore, that Śaṅkara refuses to call the mind Ātman, because it is not the subject. He thinks that the Ātman being the subject, the mind cannot be called Ātman because the mind is not the subject.

From what we have seen above we can say that the Mind is an Organ of Sense, that it is an object of thought ; and also that since it is an Organ of Sense and an object of thought, it is not the subject ; and also that its being an organ and an object, points to an entity of which it is an organ and for which it is an object. Now, this entity, *viz.*, the subject, we have seen, Śaṅkara identifies with the Ātman. The identification of the Ātman and the subject has been clearly stated in his Vedānta Sūtra Bhāṣya thus : "**तस्मात् चेतनविषय एव मुख्य आत्मशब्दः**"[2] The word Ātman means primarily the intelligent

[1] Bṛhadāraṇyaka Bhāṣya 4.3.6. [2] 1. 1. 7.

being or knower. The Ātman is thus, according to Śaṅkara, the subject of knowledge.

The subject being identified with the Ātman, let us now enquire into the nature of the Ātman as the subject. In our ordinary experience the subject seems to be an active agent—one that sees or hears. 'I see' or 'I hear' being the ordinary form of experience, we are led to attribute some sort of activity to the 'I' that sees or hears. This sort of attributing activity to the subject, however, is denied both by the Sāṁkhya and the Advaita Vedānta, and the Purusha of the Sāṁkhya and the Ātman of the Advaita Vedānta are not active agents but passive illuminators. According to the Sāṁkhya, "The forms and images are," as Dr. S. N. Dasgupta says, "only compositions or complexes of subtle mind-substance and are thus like a sheet of painted canvas immersed in darkness; as the canvas gets prints from the outside and moves, the pictures appear one by one before the light and are illuminated. So it is with our knowledge. The special characteristic of self is that it is like a light without which all knowledge would be blind."[1] The same view has been held by Śaṅkara. The mental modifications (वृत्ति) must be illuminated by the ever-shining light of the Ātman before any knowledge is possible. Of course, this applies only to empirical knowledge and not to Intuition or Pratyakṣa. To understand Śaṅkara's theory of the Ātman as the illuminator of experience, we should first of all understand his theory of the Ātman as ever-shining.

Our ordinary experience is always temporal, ever-changing. 'I hear' is succeeded by 'I see,' 'I see' by 'I smell,' 'I am happy' by 'I am suffering' and so on. Our ordinary knowledge thus consists of series of cognitions which are short-lived, and supersede one another. Now the question is: Is the jñāna of the Ātman also, thus, ever-changing? The Ātman, the subject of all knowledge, is undoubtedly the

[1] Dr. S. N. Dasgupta, History of Indian Philosophy, Vol. I, p. 239.

possessor of such series of cognitions, and are we to take it that the jñāna of the Ātman, is fleeting, or that when we have no such stray cognitions, *e.g.*, in deep sleep, the Ātman is devoid of knowledge? According to the Naiyāyikas the Ātman is not essentially intelligent but becomes intelligent only when in contact with the mind. Intelligence is only a quality of the Ātman related to it by Samavāya. Uddyotakara, in his Vārttika, having proved the existence of a permanent Ātman from the recognition that is involved in desire, etc., attempts to prove it on another ground, *viz.*, since desire, etc., are qualities, they require a substance which underlies them.[1] Prof. S. Radhakrishnan thus states [2] "As a matter of fact it is an unconscious principle (jaḍa) capable of being qualified by states of consciousness. Consciousness cannot exist apart from the self, even as the brilliance of the flame cannot exist apart from the flame. But the soul itself is not necessarily conscious. Consciousness is regarded as a quality of the soul produced in the waking state by the conjunction of the soul with manas. It is an intermittent quality of the self." A similar opinion is also held by the Vaiśeṣika school. The Nyāya Sūtra says:—इच्छा-द्वेष-प्रयत्न-सुख दुःख-ज्ञानानि आत्मनो लिङ्गम् ।[3]—"Desire, aversion, effort, pleasure and pain and knowledge are the signs of a (permanent) Ātman. Vātsyāyana explains this Sūtra thus: What is desire? Desire means that the man desiring having come into contact with a thing, experiences pleasure, and whenever in future he comes across a thing of the same kind he wishes to possess it. Aversion similarly means that after having felt pain from a thing for the first time, we avoid the thing in future. This is also true of pleasure, etc. It means that our experiences cannot be explained unless we accept the Ātman; or in other

[1] Vārttika on 1. 1. 10.

[2] Prof. S. Radhakrishnan, Indian Philosophy, Vol. II, p. 149.

[3] Nyāya Sūtra, 1. 1. 10.

words to explain desire, aversion, etc., we must admit recognition of different things and to explain recognition we must admit a permanent Ātman. Thus far there is no difference of opinion with Śaṅkara. But when the Naiyāyika and the Vaiśeṣika declare that the Ātman is not by nature intelligent, Śaṅkara cannot agree with them.

To prove that the Ātman is essentially intelligence, Śaṅkara depends entirely upon experience. The life of a man can be divided into three states: waking, dreaming and deep sleep. In our waking state the Ātman is certainly conscious, and so also in our dreaming state. But the state of deep sleep is apparently a state of dark unconsciousness, and this may seem to justify the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika position that the Ātman is not essentially intelligence, for in that case there would have been knowledge even at that state. But if we look a bit closer into the matter, we will see that even in such states as deep sleep and swoon, the Ātman is conscious. To understand that we were unconscious in these states proves that we were at least conscious of our unconsciousness. Śaṅkara says in his Sūtra Bhāṣya: "Even for him who maintains that consciousness fails in those states, it is not possible to speak of a failure of consciousness not witnessed by consciousness." [1] The states of deep sleep and swoon are not a negation of consciousness, but only an indefinite consciousness due to want of definite objects of perception, the organs of sense having ceased to function. Śaṅkara in his Sūtra Bhāṣya thus states: "तथा ह्यतीयेऽपि पर्य्याये सुषुप्तावस्थायाम् विशेषज्ञानाभावमेव दर्शयति, न विज्ञातारं प्रतिषेधति" [2] Śaṅkara in another place thus states with equal clearness "विषयाभावादियमचेतनमानता, न चैतन्याभावादिति." [3] In that state of deep sleep तमस् predominates; and it is due to predominance of

[1] Quoted by Prof. S. Radhakrishnan, Indian Philosophy, Vol. II, p. 153.
[2] 1. 3. 19.
[3] 2, 3, 18.

तमस् that knowledge does not arise. Śaṅkara states in his Upadeśashasrī that in that state the Ātman cognises this तमस्. To cognise तमस्, means, perhaps, nothing more than the want of cognition of definite objects. Vidyāraṇya Swāmī following Śaṅkara thus puts it: "सुप्तोत्थितस्य सौषुप्ततमोबोधो भवेत् स्मृतिः। सा चाववुद्धिविषयावबुद्धन्तत्तदा तमः।[1] When a man rises from deep sleep he thinks that he did not know any thing so long. This awareness of ignorance is certainly due to remembrance. And as remembrance presupposes a fact of knowledge, we must admit that the Ātman in deep sleep cognises ignorance." Thus the Ātman in all its three stages is never devoid of knowledge.

Śaṅkara proved the above theory in a different way in his Aitareya Bhāṣya. There are, he says, two kinds of दृष्टि—the eternal दृष्टि of the Ātman, and the temporary दृष्टि of everyday life.[2] The latter is due to contact with external objects through the organs while the former is not so. If we do not admit the two दृष्टिs then we cannot explain some of the facts of experience. There are many instances when a blind man dreams to have seen colours or when a deaf man dreams to have heard sounds, and if we do not admit the two दृष्टिs then of course we could not explain such phenomena. Śaṅkara says: "यदि चक्षुःसंयोगिनैव आत्मनो नित्या दृष्टिः तन्नाशे नश्येत् तदा उद्भूतचक्षुः स्वप्ने नील-पीतादीनि न पश्येत्।[3]

Let us now proceed to discuss Śaṅkara's theory of the Ātman as the illuminator of all experience. The Nyāya theory of an unconscious Ātman possessing knowledge at intervals cannot satisfy the demands of reason. The Nyāya is right in holding that our momentary experiences require a permanent Ātman to explain them. Desire, aversion, etc., depend on recognition, and recognition depends on an entity

[1] Pāñcadaśi, 1. 5.

[2] तदा तर्ह्यै दे दृष्टी—चक्षुषोऽनित्या दृष्टिः, नित्या चात्मनः Introduction to Ch. II.

[3] Introduction to Ch. II.

which is permanent throughout the experience series, but how can they at the same time hold that Ātman is unconscious by nature? There are difficulties both metaphysical and epistemological. How can an unconscious substance become conscious? But this metaphysical difficulty we need not discuss. But so far as epistemology is concerned, the question is: Suppose the Ātman finds a thing pleasant now, and after a lapse of intelligence for some time, it again comes across the thing, and it *desires* to possess it, how is such a desire possible? The Ātman's first experience is, "I experience X"; similarly its second experience is also "I experience X." But what we require for recognition is in the form: "I that experienced X formerly, experience that X now." But such a recognition is not possible unless we admit that the "I"—the subject—had always been conscious of itself as "I" whether there had been any particular and definite object or not—in other words the Ātman as subject of recognition must have been all along a conscious principle. The unity of our life is possible only if we admit the subjects, *viz.*, the Ātman, to be by nature conscious, and to retain its consciousness under all vicissitudes.

We have seen before that the mind is only an organ, and as such knowledge cannot belong to it; we have just now seen that the fact of the unity of our experience demands that the Ātman as subject must be ever conscious a light that no storm can extinguish. The data of experiences pass through the organs to the mind and then are cognised by the Ātman—and unless and until they are cognised by the Ātman as subject they can never be experienced at all. The very fact that they are experienced means that they are experiences for some one, and this some one we have seen is the Ātman which is always conscious. This unfailing consciousness of the Ātman is what is meant by the नित्यदृष्टि of the Ātman; and the details of empirical knowledge through sense organs or otherwise, are what Śaṅkara calls the अनित्यदृष्टि. All our

experiences—"I see," "I hear," "I smell," and so on—are the experiences of one conscious individual, of the "I." The consciousness of the Ātman as subject—of the "I"—is what makes possible all experiences. Śaṅkara states it in his Aitareya Bhāsya thus:—**नित्यात्मनो दृष्टिर्बाह्यानित्यदृष्टेर्ग्राहिका।**[1] The eternal consciousness of the Ātman illumines or expresses the fleeting experiences which come from outside.

The Nyāya-Vaiśesika theory of the adventitious character of jñāna of the Ātman, is based upon a confusion. Ordinarily we think that the stray experiences are what constitute the totality of the jñāna of the Ātman as subject and completely forget that the stray experiences can become experiences of the Ātman only if we admit the Ātman to be always conscious. When we have committed this mistake, it is very easy to say that when these stray experiences are there, the Ātman is intelligent, and when they are not there, the Ātman is non-intelligent, and does not know anything, or in other words the Ātman is unconscious. The fact, however, as we have seen before really is, that the Ātman has no knowledge of definite objects, though it is conscious. Śaṅkara thus puts it; **बाह्यदृष्टेश्च उपजनापायाद्यनित्यधर्म्मवत्त्वाद् ग्राहिकाया आत्मदृष्टेः तदवभासत्वम् अनित्यादि-भ्रान्तिनिमित्तम्।"**[2] The reason of the faulty theory that the Ātman is not essentially intelligence but that its intelligence is adventitious, is due to the fact that the fleeting experiences are expressed by the eternal intelligence of the Ātman.

I have said above that the Ātman is passive illuminator, and let us now see what is meant by calling the Ātman passive. The term **अवग्राहिका** used by Śaṅkara in the quotation cited just now, shows that in the origination of knowledge, what the Ātman does is simply to express the stray data of experience which come through the mind. Its function is simply to

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] *Ibid.*

express or illumine what is supplied by the mind. The data are made ready by mind for experience, and when they come into contact with the ever-shining consciousness of the Ātman, knowledge results. Metaphorically speaking, as light illumines or expresses the objects near it, so also the light of consciousness expresses or illumines the mental modifications, and unless such an illumination takes place, knowledge does not arise. It may be said that knowledge itself is a sort of activity, as is found from the use of the verb "to know." But Śaṅkara denies that knowledge is an activity on the part of the subject.

Let us now turn our attention to another important topic. The self-evident character of the subject has been emphasised by Śaṅkara with as much insistence as by Descartes. To prove his position, Śaṅkara took two lines. The one positive and the other negative. Like Descartes, he said that the subject is self-evident because it cannot be denied. "One thing however," says Descartes in his Methods and Meditation, "it is impossible to bring into question, *viz.*, that I myself who exercise this doubting function, exist. There is one single point at which the doubter is forced to halt—at the doubter, at the self-existence of the thinker. I can doubt everything that I doubt and in doubting I am." In the same strain Śaṅkara tells us:—"**नासौ नास्ति नाधिगम्यते इति वा वक्तुं शक्यम्.**"[1] Nobody can say that the self does not exist or cannot be known. The reason is that nobody can discard the self which knows.—"**आत्मना प्रत्याख्यातुमशक्यत्वात्**"[2] To this reason is adduced another reason by way of amplification: "**य एव निराकर्त्ता तस्यैव आत्मत्वात्।**"[3] Because the self denied is the self of the denier himself. To say at the same time that I who deny do not exist, is to contradict all human experience, to breathe hot and cold at the same breath. It may be a possible counter-

[1] Sūtra Bhāṣya 1. 1. 4.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*

argument that these are all inferences and that the subject is not self-evident, but inferred. Both Śaṅkara and Descartes anticipated this possible objection and have given the same reply: "**ननु आगमेन आत्मा परिच्छिद्यते प्रत्यक्षादिना च पूर्वम्।**" [1] ...well, the existence of the self may be inferred with the help of scriptures, and perception and inference, etc. No that is not so, replies Śaṅkara; "because the self is self-evident." "**नात्मनः स्वतःसिद्धत्वात्**" [2]...All logical enquiries, Śaṅkara proceeds, presuppose the self-evident character of the subject: "**सिद्धे हि आत्मनि प्रमितसो प्रमाणान्वेषणा भवति**" [3] It is only when the self is established that one can begin logical enquiries....Nobody, Śaṅkara goes on, can try to know the object without first being sure of this subject as "I." "**न हि पूर्वमित्थमहमिति आत्मानमप्रमाय पश्चात् प्रमेयादि परिच्छेदाय प्रवर्त्तते।**" [4]...The self is thus prior to all intellectual activity the presupposition on which our intellectual activities rest, and is therefore self-evident. Descartes, like Śaṅkara, tells us, "The principle "*cogito ergo sum*" is not to be considered a deduction from the major premise, "Whatever thinks, exists." I must first realise in my own experience that as thinking I exist, before I can reach the general conclusion that thought and existence are inseparable. This fundamental truth is thus a self-evident cognition.

So far Śaṅkara and Descartes walk together, but Śaṅkara takes a different turn and gives us a new kind of argument in support of his position. This is what is known in European Philosophy as the *Reductio ad Absurdum* of the opposite position. Every activity of man has at its basis the idea of "I" as I do, I eat, I read and without this idea of "I" no activity of any kind is possible. This is a fact of universal experience. If however we do not admit the self-evident character of the

[1] Gītā Bhāṣya, 2. 18.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*

self of the doer, the whole activity of the world—from the prattling of the child to the multifarious and complex vocation of a genius—all fall to the ground ; we are confronted with the absurdity of declaring that there is no kind of activity in this world :—**अप्रसिद्धे हि आत्मनि अस्वार्थाः सर्वे प्रवृत्तयः प्रसज्येरन्।**'' [1] The Ātman as knower is, thus, according to Śaṅkara, self-evident. Bradley is also of the same opinion. " The real subject,'' he says, " is always felt." To say that "I who knows do not know myself'' is a worse sort of scepticism and as the Pañcadaśī says, " It is like saying that I who talk have no tongue ''—"**जिह्वा मेऽस्ति न वेत्युक्ति र्लज्जायै केवलं यथा। न बुध्यते मया बोधो बोद्धव्य इति तादृशी।**'' [2]

From another standpoint Śaṅkara may seem to contradict his first principle of the self-evident character of the subject when we are told that it is unknowable. The sage of the Upaniṣad had said: "**विज्ञातारमरे केन विजानीयात्।**''..." How can we know him who knows?'' The knower, the subject, is unknowable. This may at first sight seem to be a strange contradiction after so much trouble to prove the self-evident character of the subject, are we to believe that the subject is unknowable. But a careful study will reveal the great truth.

The self of a man as the knower is, undoubtedly, a self-evident reality, a 'felt reality,' as Bradley called it, but nevertheless we cannot know it more than what we know. Thus far and no further. You know the self thoroughly well as the subject of empirical knowledge as **अहं** but do not try to know it more. The subject, we have seen, is the presupposition of knowledge, and to turn thought into its presupposition is not possible. To use a simile, divorce from the context, it is as absurd as the attempt of a man, however clever, to mount his own shoulder. Śaṅkara has made an extremely sharp distinction between the self and the not-self, the Ātman and Anātman ; the

[1] *Ibid*, 10, 50.

[2] Pañcadaśī 3. 20.

former means only the subject, and the latter anything but the subject. He definitely warns us against our tendency to make the subject an object of our thought. Try however we may, there is always the subject which baffles our attempt to make it an object of our thought. The reason is simple enough, if it is stated—all our experience requires a subject, and when we turn our thought over into the subject we require another subject, and so on *ad infinitum*. In all our thinking, the subject is always to be posited. "What we want to know," says Śaṅkara, "is the object and not the subject"—**ज्ञातुश्च ज्ञेये एव जिज्ञासा नात्मनि**।[1] To make the subject an object of thought is a sheer contradiction. And if it is a fact, continues Śaṅkara, that we can know only the object, then the subject can never be known: "**न चाविषये ज्ञातुर्ज्ञानमुपपद्यते। तस्मात् येनेदं सर्वं विज्ञातं तं विज्ञातारं केन करणेन को वा अन्यः विजानीयात्**"।[2] "As fire cannot burn itself, so the subject cannot know itself as an object"—"**न चाग्निरिव आत्मनो विषयः**।[3]

Śaṅkara in his Taittirīya Bhāṣya gives another reason which is of a negative character. Even supposing that the subject can be known, the subject becomes an object and we have no subject: "**आत्मनश्च विज्ञेयत्वे ज्ञातृभावप्रसङ्गः**"।[4] If every piece of knowledge requires a subject, and if we assume that we know the subject, then an absurdity occurs inasmuch as we are to know the subject as an object without there being a subject to know! Nobody can deny that knowledge requires a subject, but we have to deny this first principle of epistemology if we are to make the subject an object of thought.

To get out of this difficulty a possible reply may be that the Ātman has the capacity simultaneously to play the double part of a subject and an object. It has been argued above that the subject cannot know itself firstly because we are always to

[1] Bṛhadāraṇyaka Bhāṣya, 120, 14
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] Taittirīya Bhāṣya 1. 28.

posit a subject in every cognition and the subject always eludes our attempt to know it ; and secondly because if we go to make the subject an object of thought, we have no subject to know the subject as an object. It may be suggested that if we attribute to the subject the capacity to play the double part of a subject and an object at the same time, then both these difficulties may be avoided. The subject will at once become the subject and put itself under examination as an object so that in one single experience we will have both the aspects. We shall be required neither to posit another subject for this cognition, nor will there be any difficulty for want of a subject when the subject will try to turn its thought upon itself.

Such a defence would have been possible if the subject and the object were complementary and not opposed. A thing may have different aspects if these aspects do not clash. But as in the present case the subject and the object are, by their nature, so opposed that we cannot attribute both of them to a single entity. The subject is, as we have seen, the Ātman, and the Ātman is a spiritual entity devoid of parts. To attribute two such opposed qualities as ज्ञातृत्व and ज्ञेयत्व is to bifurcate it. Śaṅkara in his Taittirīya Bhāṣya thus states : " एक एव आत्मा ज्ञातृत्वेन ज्ञेयत्वेन चोभयथा भवतीति चेत्, न युगपदनंशत्वात्। न हि निरवयवस्य युगपज्-ज्ञेय-ज्ञातृत्वोपपत्तिः।"[1] If it is said that the Ātman as subject can think upon itself as an object, Śaṅkara would say that the Ātman as object is not the subject at all, but only an object, the real subject being the Ātman that thinks. Supposing, however, that the Ātman as subject can think upon itself as an object, then it is to be admitted that the Ātman as subject and Ātman as object are somehow related. If so, the difficulty arises, *viz.*, that there must be two things before any question of relationship comes in. Relation there cannot be unless there are things to be related. We are to admit then, that the Ātman as subject is different from the

[1] *Ibid.*

Ātman as object, otherwise no question of their relationship comes in. In other words we are to accept that the Ātman has two distinct parts, *viz.*, the subject and the object. In this introduction to the Aitareya Bhāṣya Śaṅkara says that if we hold that the subject can think upon itself as an object then : **येन आत्मना मन्तव्यः यश्च आत्मा मन्तव्यः तौ द्वौ प्रसज्येयाताम्.**[1] The Ātman will be divided into two parts, the Knower, and the Known—and such division of a spiritual entity is absurd.

It has already been pointed out that it may seem a strange contradiction to call the subject, self-evident and unknowable at the same time. If the subject is self-evident, how can it be unknowable ? The contradiction, however, vanishes if we look deep into the matter. What is meant by the subject being self-evident is that we are aware of the subject as **अहं** which is undeniable and which is the presupposition of all knowledge. The subject as **अहं** is not unknown in this sense; Śaṅkara frankly admits this in his Sūtra Bhāṣya : **न तावदेकान्तः अविषयः अस्मत्प्रत्ययविषयत्वात्, अपरोक्षत्वाच्च प्रत्यगात्मप्रसिद्धेः ।**[2] If a thing is entirely out of human knowledge there can be no discussion about it. The Ātman is thus known. But how is it known—it is not known by any act of knowledge but it is known of itself, it is self-evident. The subject is self-evident in the form of "I" (**अस्मत्प्रत्ययविषयत्वात्**). Now comes the question, if so, how is it unknowable? The reply is that it is known as **अहं** and in any other form it is unknowable. But if we wish to know anything more about it—more than **अस्मत्प्रत्यय**—we must take it as an object of thought which, however, we have seen Śaṅkara denies to be possible. The subject is, thus, known as **अहम्**, as the subject, but unknown and unknowable in any other form of empirical knowledge. The subject is known to the subject as the subject but never as an object. In this sense, therefore, there is no contradiction

[1] Introduction to Ch. II.
[2] Introduction to Sūtra Bhāṣya.

in calling the Ātman as subject as self-evident and unknowable at the same time.

In continuation of this discussion we should now take note of an important point. The subject and object we have so long found to be opposing each other. They are so heterogeneous that the subject can never be the object, nor the object, the subject. But from the opposition, definite hostility is but one step.

Knowledge depends on the two factors subject and object and these two we have found to be uncompromisingly heterogeneous. If the subject is thus opposed by a heterogeneous object, then we can say that it is limited by the object. The subject cannot do without the object, yet it cannot cease to be opposed by the object. And if we look deeper, this limitation is but bringing about a change in the subject. The subject as it was before it was opposed by the object, is not the same after it was opposed by the object—'S' is not the same as 'S-O.'

The same is the case of the subject in relation to knowledge. Empirical knowledge is the result of the union of subject and object, and it is quite a new element. The subject is as much different from empirical knowledge as from the object—the subject possesses knowledge. The subject can never become knowledge, nor the knowledge subject. Subject and knowledge are as much heterogeneous as subject and object. The subject, because it is a subject, cannot do without knowledge; yet, here also, it cannot cease to be opposed by knowledge; or in other words, it is limited by knowledge. The question of a change in the subject comes up here as well. The subject as it was before it was opposed by knowledge is not the same subject after it was opposed by knowledge.—'S' is not the same as "S-K."

To understand this clearly let us revert to the theory of Eternal Knowledge (नित्यदृष्टि) of the Ātman, the real subject, as explained before. If the consciousness of the Ātman is

eternal, there is then no necessity on the part of the Ātman for further empirical experience which is alien to it. But if somehow it has to acquire empirical experience (as Śaṅkara says, under the influence of avidyē), then we cannot but admit that the constituents of this empirical experience, *viz.*, object and knowledge, limit it and change it, as already explained.

It may be said that in knowledge we are not justified in creating such an antagonistic relation between the subject on the one hand and the object, and the knowledge thereof an the other, for knowledge is a whole in which the three constituents of subject, object and knowledge are harmoniously related. But such a criticism does not apply. The Ātman, Śaṅkara's subject, is Eternal consciousness, and why then should it be the subject of empirical knowledge? and if it becomes so, it is confronted with two aliens, *viz.*, object, and the knowledge thereof.

The subject is thus limited and changed by the other two constituents of empirical knowledge. The three constituents of knowledge are not, therefore, in quite friendly terms. Śaṅkara thus states in his Taittiriya Bhāṣya **ज्ञानकर्त्तृत्वं च ज्ञान-ज्ञेयाभ्यां प्रविभक्तम्**.[1] "The subject is limited by knowledge and object." In the same Bhāṣya he further adds: "**ज्ञानकर्त्तृत्वं च विक्रियमाणम्**[2] "changed by being the subject of knowledge."

This theory of Śaṅkara requires special notice because it has momentous influence upon his philosophy, and has served to be the bone of contention between the two of the mightiest minds of India—Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja. It is easy to see that one who holds that in knowledge the subject is limited and changed by the object and knowledge, cannot predicate the quality of knower in the empirical sense to Brahman; for in that case Brahman would also be limited

[1] 36. Taittirīya Bhāṣya 1. 28.
[2] *Ibid.*

and changed by the object and knowledge. Rāmānuja, however, found it necessary on different grounds to attribute this quality to Brahman. Śaṅkara clearly states his position in the Taittiriya Bhāṣya, part of which has been quoted above: ज्ञानकर्त्तृत्वं च ज्ञान-ज्ञेयाभ्यां प्रविभक्तमिति अनन्तता न स्यात्।[1] "If Brahman is a subject of knowledge, it is limited by object and knowledge, and not unlimited." Further in the same Bhāṣya: ज्ञानकर्त्तृत्वं हि विक्रियमाणं ब्रह्म कथं सत्यं भवेदनन्तञ्च।[2] "If Brahman is a subject, then it is changed by being the subject, so how can it be existent, and unlimited?" We have explained above the meaning of the two statements beforehand, and perhaps no explanation is necessary here. What is clear, however, is that Saṅkara's Brahman is not a subject.

SATINDRAKUMAR MUKHERJEE.

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] *Ibid.*

POEMS OF INDIA

India

Old temples, old Gods, old faiths, old India!
Even an alien, such as I, may know the glamour
Of your charm; the magic of your burning breath
In languid day, or moon-drenched Tropic night;
The tumbled grandeur of old ruins, neglected
Temples, choked in jungle-growth, where cobras
Slither through the gloom, and the mocking moon
Looks down on scenes forlorn, gay markets, filled
With light, and seething 'neath the molten sun;
Sweet breath of flow'rs and incense, mingled with
Decay and death; dim water-ways, that thread
A winding path beneath the boughs of tangled
Green, where brown men pole their age-old craft
And sing their plaintive songs of Ind; wide
Spacious plains of palm, and paddy-fields; roads
White with dust that countless feet have trod;
Tinkle of bullock-bell, and camel-caravan,
And throngs of pilgrims bound on unknown quests;
Great mountains, reaching to the skies, and touched
With glory in the sun-set's kiss; snow-capped,
Majestic and remote, enchanted Himalayas,
Ramparts of the North; jungle and plain, and
Wooded-hill; and all the far-flung beauty
Of a land as old as Time, as secret and aloof,
Whose Past dreams on in visions of to-day.

To a Hindu Image

You, O Hindu god of bronze, fantastic,
Many-armed and strange, and placed within my

Ordered modern room, have filled the air with
Pictures from an ancient Past. I hear the
Throbs of drums growing nearer in the gloom;
Thin plaintive notes of flutes and cymbal's clash
And tinkling ankle-bells; I breathe incense,
The scent of jasmine, spice and sandal-wood;
I see the flaring torches light the skies
In dim processionals of ghosts; I hear
The minor chant of devotees, wrapt in
Fanatic faith and marching to the rim
Of some dark river where the mystic rites
Of immemorial cults and fetishes
Endow the ardent worshippers with grace.
I see the coloured throngs move through the night
To templed-courts, where mighty Kali Mai
Holds sacrifice in blood; I feel the spell
Press close and closer on my heart as the
Spectral hordes pass by intent on Puja
And all the symbols of their creed, and in
The pageant pious priests uphold a god
On velvet pall enwreathed with flower-chains.
I see that the god is the same as you,
My little bronze image that I hold here
Captive now and silent within my room.
O ugly and enigmatic idol,
What was the power you wielded that bound
Men's hearts in slavery to your errant whims?
Be not lonely here with me, O image
Of an antique land, for still about you
Is the charm that lingers through the ages
And clings forever to an alien faith.

The Sacred Bo-Tree

Sacred Bo-tree, in your benignant shade,
Have gathered pilgrims, seekers after light,
The sages, saints and worshippers, to talk
Most learnedly of Buddha and his path
To Peace. You have heard these grave discussions
On Nirvana and the bliss of Cosmic
One-ness, and seen the changing throngs of men
Who come and go for a brief hour of life,
All dust to-morrow, who were men to-day.
How you must weary of their wise pretence;
Perhaps 'tis well for them you cannot speak
To break the futile dreams of all the men
Who mutter *mantras* in your shade, nor tell
Them of life's secrets that they fain would know.
What matter? You know that all prayers are good,
Whether to Buddha, Brahma, Ahmad, Jove
Or God. Alike the day of worshippers;
Perchance all find the answer to their quests
While lotus-lilies dream on temple-pools
And glamour lingers in the hearts of men.
All prayers point Heav'nward; would
that they knew this
As well as you, serene and mute Bo-tree!

LILY S. ANDERSON

A CRITICAL ESTIMATE OF THE MĪMĀṀSĀ THEORY OF SOUL FROM THE BUDDHIST STANDPOINT

The Mīmāṁsaka philosopher conceives the self (ātman) as an eternal, continuous principle of the nature of pure consciousness, and as self-subsisting and self-revealing like light.[1] But as the Self is not anything distinct from the faculty of intellect (buddhi), as the Sāṅkhya school affirms, it is held to be a dynamic principle incessantly changing with the change of states, yet maintaining its identity intact through all its diverse stages of transition. The dual character of change and continuity is not incongruous in the least, as it is observed in the case of a serpent, which remains identical in the midst of its various changes of posture. The serpent remains a serpent, whether it is coiled or erect or extends itself. Likewise the self remains the self as consciousness unmodified through all the different states of pleasure or pain, which happen to it in its career through metempsychosis. It neither totally disappears with any of its passing states, as the Buddhists hold, nor does it remain absolutely unmodified, as the Naiyāyikas would have us believe. In the Buddhist's theory of total destruction, there would arise the fallacy of lost deserts (kṛtanāśa) and unearned enjoyment (akṛtāgama), and in the Naiyāyika's doctrine of absolute unchange, the transitional experiences of pleasure and

[1] ".....ātmā kena prakāśyate. Ātmanaiva prakāśyo'yam ātmā jyotir itīritam" S. V. p. 725, śl. 142.
also, " svasaṁvedyaḥ sa sambhavati, nāsāvanyena śakyate draṣṭum, aśakyatvācca nāsāvapi śakyate nidarśayitum.....Pareṇa na gṛhyata ity atrāpi Brāhmaṇaṁ bhavati, ' agṛhyo na hi gṛhyata ' iti pareṇa na gṛhyata iti tadabhiprāyametat, kutaḥ, svayaṁjyotiṣṭavacanāt." Śabarabhāṣya, p. 22, ll. 1 and 20. 'The self is self-cognisable and cannot be cognised by another. The Brāhmaṇa text, which speaks of it as incognisable, is to be understood in relation to other subjects and not to its own self, otherwise the text which speaks of it as the self-shining light would be unmeaning.'

pain would be unaccountable.[1] So the two extremes of absolute change and absolute continuity are to be avoided and the Mīmāṁsaka accordingly defines the Self as a continuity, subject to change of states and moods.[2] The agent and the enjoyer both are the continuing self and not the changing moods, which have no independent status of their own. So there is no apprehension of the fallacy, which threatens the Buddhist position.[3]

The existence of the self is a matter of direct proof, being clearly attested by recognition of the ego-principle in such judgments as 'I know,' 'I have known,' and so on. This gives the lie direct to the doctrine of selflessness of the Buddhists.[4] Besides, the no-soul theory fails to explain the egoistic reference in our knowledge. What is indeed referred to in the judgment 'I know' by the I-cognition? The 'I' refers to the knower and the issue is whether the knower is the self or the momentary cognition, which perishes irrevocably in the second moment. If it is the self, the whole history of consciousness is at once put on an intelligible basis. If the momentary cognition is

[1] Syātāṁ hy atyantanāśe hi kṛtanāśākṛtāgamau.
Sukhaduḥkhādibhogaśca naiva syād ekarūpiṇaḥ.
S. V., p. 694.

[2] Tasmād ubhayahānena vyāvṛttyanugamātmakaḥ.
Puruṣo'bhyupagantavyaḥ kuṇḍālādiṣu sarpavat.
S. V., p. 695.

[3] Na ca kartṛtvabhoktṛtve puṁso'vasthāsāmāśrite
Tenāvasthāvatas tattvāt kartaivāpnoti tatphalam.
S. V., p. 695, śl. 29.

Compare the following observations of Pārthasārathi Miśra regarding the statement of the scholiast that 'the self and cognition (buddhi) are eternal and directly perceptible,' which raises a difficulty, as in the Mīmāṁsā theory of knowledge cognitions are not amenable to perception but can be known by inference. Pārthasārathi solves the difficulty by saying that cognitions as the moods of the self are imperceptible and transitory, but here the word 'buddhi' stands for the self, which is both eternal and perceptible, as it is consciousness itself (and as such self-cognising or self-revealing).

Nanu caitanyasyāpratyakṣatvāt kathaṁ pratyakṣavacanaṁ, satyaṁ, citisaktir apratyakṣā, atra tu caitanyasvabhāvaḥ pramātaiva buddhiśabdenocyate. sa ca pratyakṣo nityaśca, tasya jñānākhyo vikāro'pratyakṣo 'nityaś ce i.' Ś. V., Nyāyaratnākara, p. 835.

[4] Tenāśmāt pratyabhijñānāt sarvalokāvadhāritāt
Nairātmyavādabādhas syāt.
S. V., p. 724.

believed to be the subject, the whole thought-life becomes shrouded in an inexplicable mystery. We can possibly conceive the knowing subject to consist in either (1) the existing cognition, or (2) the past cognition, or (3) both, or (4) the series. In the first alternative, the judgment should be in the form 'I know' and not 'I have known,' because the present cognition did not exist in the past. In the second alternative, the judgment will be 'I have known or did know' and not 'I do know,' because the past cognition does not persist in the present. The third alternative equally falls to the ground, because the past and the present do not co-exist and so there can be no reference to an identical Self. The fourth alternative cannot be entertained either, as the series is an unreal fiction and has no existence outside the individual moments. So the subjectivity of the momentary cognition in all its alternatives being ruled out of court, the ego-consciousness must be supposed to refer to an eternal ego-principle, the underlying, continuous self, which can become the subject of the past, present and future judgments.[1] That this subject is an eternal principle is proved by the following arguments: The subject of the past ego-judgment is the subject of the present judgment also. Because, it is referred to equally by the past and the present ego-judgment. Or, the past and present cognitions in a particular subject-series do certainly relate to an identical self, because they all have a reference to a common subject.[2]

It may be legitimately urged that if the self is an eternal, unitary principle, then cognition (buddhi) also will become eternal and one, as the latter is regarded by the Mīmāṁsakas to be identical with the self. But this is plainly opposed to their theory, as the scholiast Śabara expressly states that

[1] *Vide* T. S., śls. 229-37, and S. V., pp. 719-24.

[2] Vyatītāhaṅkṛtiścādyo jñātādyāpy anuvartate.
Ahaṁpratyayagamyatvād idānīntanaboddhṛvat.—S. V., p. 831, T.S., śl. 238.
Ekasantānasambaddhajñātrahampratyayatvataḥ.
Hyastanādyatanāḥ sarve tulyārthā ekabuddhivat.—S. V., p. 724, T. S., śl. 240.

cognition is momentary and does not last up to the moment of another cognition. It also goes against Jaimini's position, who defines perception to be a cognition, which is originated by sense-object contact. Certainly origination does not congrue with its eternity. Moreover, if cognition is one simple entity, the six-fold classification of pramāṇas will have no meaning.

Kumārila has anticipated these objections and says that the Self and cognitions must be admitted to be one and eternal fact, as cognitions have no existence outside the self. The multiplicity of cognitions is not due to any intrinsic diversity of nature, but is purely accidental, being superposed by the diversity of objective data.[1] It cannot be urged that the intellect, being one and eternal and having no constitutional diversity, should cognise all the cognisable objects in one sweep and not in succession. Because though its cognising capacity is present intact for all time, it cognises only those objects that are presented to it through the sense-channel. And this is due to the limitation of the physical organism, in which it is imprisoned for the time being in consequence of its past deeds. That permanent efficiency and occasional functioning are not inconsistent is proved by the behaviour of natural objects as well. We know fire possesses permanent capacity for combustion; but this capacity comes into play only when combustible objects are thrown into it. A clean mirror and a spotless crystal have the natural aptitude for catching the reflection of all material objects; but they reflect the image of those objects only, which actually come within their range.[2] So the self, which is held by us, unlike the Sāṅkhya philosophers, to be identical with the cognitive

[1] Buddhīnām api caitanyasvābhāvyāt puruṣasya ca.
Nityatvam ekatā ceṣṭā bhedas tu viṣayāśrayaḥ.—S. V., p. 833, T. S., śl. 242.

[2] Svarūpeṇa yathā vahnir nityaṁ dahanakarmakaḥ. Upanītaṁ dahaty arthaṁ dāhyaṁ nānyaṁ na cānyathā. Yathā vā darpaṇaḥ svaccho yathā ca sphaṭiko'malaḥ. Yadyan nidhīyate dravyaṁ tacchāyāṁ pratipadyate. Tathaiva nityacaitanyāḥ pumāṁso dehavṛttayaḥ. Gṛhṇanti karaṇānītān rūpādīn dhīrasau matā. S. V., p, 834, śls. 405-407. *Cf.* ' na hi śaktir astīty etāvatā sarvadā kāryaṁ kartavyaṁ, śaktasyāpi sahakārisācivyasannidhyapekṣālambanena kāryakaraṇakramopapatteḥ.' Nyāyaratnākara, p. 834.

faculty (buddhi), cognises those objects alone, which are presented through the medium of sense-organs, though it is, by its very nature, all-pervading and all-cognisant, being consciousness itself.[1] The cognitive faculty too, being one with the self, is equally eternal, but appears to emerge and disappear like a perishable entity owing to its association with the sense-organs, whose activities are perishable. The limitation of its cognising capacity is also due to the limitation of the sense-organs, whose powers are circumscribed by their very constitution. The eternal nature of the intellect, or the Self for the matter of that, is however proved by the continuity of its conscient nature through all the diverse acts of knowledge. The diversity, as has been observed before, is that of the data and as such is purely accidental. Those thinkers (the Buddhists), who concentrate their attention on and thus emphasise the diversity of contents, are deluded into thinking that consciousness is a varying manifold. But they obviously ignore the aspect of real continuity, which becomes apparent when the diversity of contents is overlooked, and so are liable to the charge of partial observation.[2] It is, therefore, as a matter of logical necessity that we shall have to postulate the existence of the self as an eternal principle, consisting of pure consciousness, and as all-pervading, capable of tenanting any number of bodies in its course of metempsychosis.[3]

The Buddhist's position.

The Buddhist observes that the Mīmāṁsaka's conception of the self or consciousness as an identity in diversity, or a continuity in change, savours of mysticism for its defiance of logical canons. Diversity, it is alleged, belongs to the objective data and not to the consciousness in its own right. So continuity is its essential

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Saiveti nocyate buddhir arthabhedānusāribhiḥ. Na cāstyapratyabhijñānamarthabhede'nupāśrite. S. V., p. 835, śl. 410.

[3] Jñānaśaktisvabhāvo'to nityaḥ sarvagataḥ pumān. Dehāntarakṣamaḥ kalpyaḥ so'gacchan neva yokṣyate. S. V., p. 707, śl. 73. *Vide* Nyāyaratnākara for a detailed exposition of the logical necessity.

nature and diversity is only an accidental superposition of the objective data. But what about the illusory perception of elephants, horses and the like in a place, where they do not actually exist? The diversity of cognitions in these circumstances cannot be explained away by reference to objective data, which do not certainly exist in the place and time concerned. But we forget that Kumārila holds that even such abnormal experiences as dreams and illusions are conversant about real objective facts, which, however, are presented in a wrong spatio-temporal relation.[1] So here too the diversity of consciousness is due to the influence of objective data. But this is cleverness par excellence! The time and place, to which these experiences refer, admittedly do not belong to the data of these experiences, even granting that these data are real objects. But why should, we humbly enquire, these data, real facts that they are, appear in a place and time which are apparently not their own? At any rate, the time and place in question are unreal impositions of the imagination. If you hold that the time and place also are real facts, only they are presented in a different setting, the past being confounded with the present and the distant with the near, we cannot help believing that you have parted company with common sense and reason. How can anything be presented as another, or in a setting which is actually different from its own? If that be the case, anything could be presented as any other thing and we must withhold our trust in the evidentiary value of our knowledge. The result will be confusion and the death of all selective activities, which can proceed on the basis of real distinctions, really discriminated.[2]

[1] Svapnādipratyaye bāhyaṁ sarvathā na hi neṣyate | Sarvatrālambanaṁ bāhyaṁ deśa-kālānyathātmakam | S-V., p. 242, śl. 107½ to 108½. *Cf.* 'bhāyameva deśāntare kālāntare vā'nubhūtam eva svapne smaryamāṇaṁ doṣavaśāt sannihita-deśakāla-vattayāvagamyate, ato'trāpi na bāhyābhāva iti'. N. R., pp 242-43.

[2] Nanu taddeśasambāndho naiva tāsāṁ tathāsti tat | Kimiti pratibhāsante tena rūpeṇa tatra ca | T. S., śl. 251. *Cf.* 'na hy anyena rūpeṇānyasya pratibhāsanaṁ yuktamatiprasaṅgāt. Evaṁ hi sarvameva jñānaṁ sarvaviṣayaṁ prasajyeta. Tataśca pratiniyatārthavyavasthoccheda eva syāt'. T. S. P., p. 101.

Kumārila, again, cannot regard these experiences as objectified ideas, as ideas, according to him, are destitute of articulate forms, which, he opines, can belong to objects and not to ideas.[1] And these objects, are certainly absent in the place, where they are actually experienced. The plea of the presentation of real objects in a wrong spatio-temporal setting has been beaten hollow. So it must be admitted that these experiences are absolutely independent of objective data and are purely subjective (nirālambana). The diversity of consciousness, therefore, is intrinsic and real and not due to the accidental association of the data. And this diversity being incompatible with continuity, consciousness, or the self for that matter, must be accounted as diverse and discrete, in other words, fluxional.[2] It may be contended that though the individual cognitions, that vary at every moment, may be fluxional, still the subject, of which they are so many passing moods or states, does continue unchanged and unmodified as consciousness. But this is mere quibbling with words. Consciousness and cognition are the same thing ; they differ only in name. Certainly difference in name alone does not connote difference in nature. If consciousness is eternal and unchanging, cognitions also will be the same. If cognitions are allowed to be momentary, consciousness also will be momentary, as consciousness and cognitions have been proved to be identical and things identical cannot logically be supposed to have mutually contradictory characters.[3] And the identity of consciousness and cognitive states has been admitted by Kumārila also.

[1] Bhavanmate hi nākāro buddher bāhyastu varṇyate |
Na vivakṣitadeśe ca gajayaṣṭyādayaḥ sthitāḥ | T. S., śl. 252.
Cf. 'Ākāravān bāhyo'rtho nirākārā buddhir iti vacanāt | T. S. P., 101.

[2] 'Tataśca yaddeśakālasambaddhās te gajādaya taddeśasambandhitvenaiva pratibhāseran. Svaviṣahiṇi tu deśāntare kālāntare ca kimiti prativbhāsante. Tasmān nirālambanā evaite pratyayāḥ paramārthato' saṁkīrṇasvabhāvāścalātmānāśca kādācitkatvād iti siddham ; tatsvabhāvasya ca puṁso 'nityatvānekatve ca siddhe.' *Op. cit.*

[3] Syān mataṁ pratyayas tasya puruṣasya dharmaḥ, tena tasya bhed'epi na puṁsó bhedo dharmitvāt tasyeti. Tad ayuktam. Pratyayaś caitanyaṁ buddhir jñānam ityanarthāntaratvāt. Na hi nāmabhedamātreṇa vastūnāṁ svabhāvo bhidyate. Kiṁ ca

The absence of objective data in illusions and dreams thus proves fatal to the continuity of the self, as propounded by Kumārila. It also demolishes his theory of knowledge, which holds that knowledge is imperceptible *per se*. Because, the contents of illusions, being purely subjective facts, are not distinct from the cognitive consciousness, and unless consciousness is self-cognised, the contents also cannot be cognised, being identical with the former. So what is presented in illusion is nothing but a projection of subjective ideas (which are but the copies of external data imbibed in previous perceptions). And consciousness being self-luminous, the idea reveals itself ; but as this idea is nothing distinct from consciousness, illusion is held by us to be a case of self-presentation or self-intuition (ātmakhyāti). Kumārila's theory of knowledge ignominiously fails to render an account of these experiences, because consciousness being *eo ipso* imperceptible in his theory, illusion cannot be regarded as experience of a subjective idea, as idea and consciousness are not distinct entities. On the other hand, it cannot be regarded as a case of objective cognition either, since the object is absent.[1]

Moreover, if all-cognising consciousness is present intact and for all time, then, what is there to prevent the appearance of all the cognitions at once? If the cognition of sound is the self-same cognition that apprehends taste, colour or the like, then these cognitions should arise all at once, because the cognitive consciousness is present with its efficiency unimpaired. If, however, the sound cognition is not admitted to be same with other cognitions, you yourself admit diversity in

nāmabhede'pi teṣāṁ pratyayānāṁ caitanyātmakam ekam anugāmirūpam iṣṭameva. Tasya ca caitanya-syābhede pratyayānām api tatsvabhāvānām avibhāga eva, anyathā hi viruddhadharmādhyāsād aikāntiko bheda eva syāt. *Cp. cit.*

[1] 'Etenaiva nirālambanapratyayapratipādanena apratyakṣatvam buddheḥ pratyuktam. Tathābi-sa parisphurannākāro na bāhyo gajādir iti sādhitam, tataśca taṁ tathā parisphurantaṁ 'ākāram ātmabhūtameva pratipadyamānā buddhayaḥ svayaṁprakāśarūpatvāt svasaṁvidrūpāḥ siddhyanti'—T. S. P., p. 101, under śl. 252.

consciousness. The example of fire is not relevant at all, because fire has not the power to consume everything at all times; had it been otherwise, the whole world would have been reduced to a heap of cinders. The truth of the matter is that fire develops its combustive power only in association with a combustible substance, and it is for this reason that simultaneous combustion of all things does not take place. As regards mirror and crystal etc., they too are fluxional and so change every moment; and when related to objects like blue lotus and the like, they develop the power of reflecting their images. If they remained constant and unmodified in their nature, they would either reflect the images always or not at all. Moreover, the use of the imagery of the mirror and the crystal as an aid to the understanding of the nature and functioning of consciousness is out of place and only obfuscates the matter at issue. Because, the image, that is supposed to be superimposed on the surface of the mirror, is only an appearance and not a real thing. It cannot be supposed that the image is a real object that effects an entry into the body of the mirror, because mirror is a compact substance and not porous, and two corporeal substances cannot occupy the same space, which is, however, felt to be the case. The crystal, too, does not enclose within itself the image of an object. This is evidenced by the fact that though in association with a scarlet flower it looks red when seen from the front, it is found to be entirely white by persons looking at it from two extremities. And even if this receiving of image had been real, the receptive crystal would vary with every single act of reflection. So the image and its reflection must be set down as an unreal appearance, occasioned by the peculiar nature of the receptive substances concerned. But this reception of image is out of the question in consciousness, because no illusion is possible with regard to its own self. Since the image reflected in consciousness will be identified with it, consciousness itself will be infected with illusion and there being no other consciousness to apprehend it, the illusory

image will remain unknown. Neither can it be known by itself, as consciousness is *eo ipso* imperceptible; nor can it be cognised by another consciousness as consciousness is regarded as one identical entity. The false appearance of the image in a crystal or a mirror, however, is not an unlikely phenomenon, because the mirror and its cognition remain distinct and separate. But in the case of consciousness, the basis of reflection and the cognising subject being one, the illusion cannot possibly be felt. In the Buddhist theory of illusion, however, no such difficulty arises, as the particular illusory cognition emerges with the stamp of illusion as an altogether novel phenomenon under the influence of its proper causes and conditions and being self-cognisant, illusion is felt. But as consciousness is held to be an eternal substance in the Mīmāṁsā system, Kumārila cannot accept this explanation offered by us.[1]

The coutinuity of conscient nature in all the different cognitions and feelings has been interpreted by Kumārila as proof of the permanence and unity of consciousness *per se*. But by adopting this view Kumārila ignores the diversity of contents, which is very real and which cannot be explained away as accidental superposition of objective data, as in illusion and dream there are no objective data, but diversity is still there. The conclusion is irresistible that the different cognitions, the diverse units of experience are absolutely distinct and discrete entities and have no underlying unity in them. The feeling of unity of our conscious life must therefore be explained by reference to a fundamental character, which characterises the diverse knowledge units without an exception ; and this fundamental characteristic is to be found in their common difference from non-conscious entities. The unity or homogeneity of consciousness is thus a negative conception at bottom ! [2]

[1] *Vide* T. S. and the pañjikā, Ślo. 259-262.

[2] Abodharūpābhedaṁ tu samānaṁ sarvabuddhiṣu
Āropya pratyabhijñānaṁ nānātve'pi pravarttate.— *Ibid*, śl. 263.
Cf. ' avaśyaṁ caitad vijñeyaṁ —Yan nānātva eva sati vijātīyavyāvṛttikṛtam etat pratyabhijñānaṁ na punar anānātva eveti. Tathā hi nirālambanāsu samāropabuddhiṣu

If the self be an eternal, uniform principle of the Mīmāṁsā pattern, then, there could be no diversity of states, such as pleasure, pain and the like in its nature. If on the other hand these diverse states really appertain to the self, then the self must forfeit its uniformity and eternality. In order to avoid this unpleasant predicament, Kumārila has come forward with his theory that the self is neither absolutely uniform nor absolutely variable. Thus, though the self passes through diverse states of pleasure and pain and is variable to that extent, it does not abandon its substantiality and conscient nature, but maintains its existence all throughout its chequered career. As regards the states or moods, they also do not absolutely cease to exist. What happens is this—the previous mood only subsides and gets merged in the existence of the self to make room for the emergence of the subsequent mood and there is no such thing as absolute cessation of existence. The individual moods or states, taken by themselves, are certainly antagonistic to each other. But they lose their antagonism in the whole, which embraces them all in its capacious bosom. And this is attested by experience that the self runs through all the diverse and antagonistic psychical phenomena, which are owned up by it. So the antagonism or contradiction amidst the individual moods is either suspended or reconciled in the existence of the self, of which they are passing phases or moods.[1]

Śāntarakṣita observes that Kumārila's desperate attempt to reconcile unity with diversity looks like an attempt to patch up the parts of a hopelessly broken reed and will not stand a moment's scrutiny. If these passing moods are not absolutely

arthabhede 'nupāśrite' pyapratyabhijñānam astyeva, na hi tatra evaṁ bhabati, yaiva gajabuddhir āsīt saiva turangasyandanabuddhiriti.....Tena yaduktam—'na cāsty apratyabhijñānam arthabhede' nupāśrita iti tad asiddham.' T. S. P, p. 105.

[1] Sukhaduḥkhādy avasthāśca gacchannapi naro mama. Caitanydravyasattvādirūpam naiva vimuñcati. Na cāvasthāntarotpāde pūrvātyantaṁ vinaśyati. Uttarānuguṇārthā tu sāmānyātmani līyate. Svarūpeṇa hy avasthānām anyonyasya virodhitā Aviruddhas tu sarvāsu sāmānyātmā pratīyate. S. V., pp. 695-96.

Cf. 'Nanvavsthānām audāsīnyakartṛtvādīnāṁ mitho virodhāt pūrvasyāṁ dharmirūpeṇa vyavasthitayām uttarasyāḥ kathaṁ nīspattiḥ, ata āha Śvarūpeṇeti' N, R.p. 696,

different from the self' then the self will be subject to emergence and cessation like its moods. If, however, these incidents are supposed to belong to the moods only and not to the self, the self and the moods will be absolutely distinct entities, as the criterion of distinction is the possession of contradictory attributes alone. If this criterion is not accepted, one self cannot be distinguished from another self, as they are regarded as distinct entities only by virtue of their mutually contradictory character. So Kumārila's conception of the self as a variable constant has to be abandoned, as it is fraught with self-contradiction. To say that experience warrants such supposition is to betray a vicious lack of critical judgment. Experience is of a certainty the ultimate court of appeal in a philosophical dispute, but not uncritical experience. Experience has to be tested and assayed in the furnace of logical thought before its true import can be realised ; in default it will land us in uncritical empiricism. Experience, therefore, cannot be a solvent of self-contradiction. So the idea of the self as a variable constant must be abandoned.[1]

As for the plea that there is no absolute loss of any particular mood, which only gets merged in the existence of the self, when another mood emerges, the less said about it the better. If the particular moods merge their individuality in the self, then pain should also be felt when pleasure emerges. Certainly this merger can be understood, if there is complete identification of one with the other, otherwise it will be only a word without a meaning. And if this identification is conceded, the self also will be subject to birth and dissolution like the moods, because things, which are identical, cannot possibly have contradictory attributes. As regards the other plea (which has been put forward to avoid the so-called fallacy of loss of earned deserts and acquisition of unearned fruits), *viz.*, that the agent of action and the enjoyer of its fruits are the self and not the passing moods of it, it will suffice to say

[1] T. S., śls. 268-271.

that it stands self-condemned. If the self remains the same, unaltered entity, it cannot presumably assume the rôle of an agent, much less of an enjoyer, which connotes the emergence of novel attributes. It has been pertinently pointed out by the venerable doctor, Dignāga, that if the self undergoes any modification on the emergence of a cognition, it will be impermanent ; if it remains unaltered as before, the self cannot be concieved to be a cogniser.[1] Kumārila, however, has answered that so far as the qualitative aspect (*i.e.*, the passing moods) of the self is concerned, the self may be called impermanent, but that does not affect the fundamental reality of consciousness *quâ* consciousness, which remains uniform and unchanged.[2] But this only confounds the issue. We have proved that no such line of cleavage subsists between consciousness and its moods ; and so consciousness *per se* is to be accounted as variable. If it had been a question of naming only, we could also say that consciousness might be called a continuous entity, if its continuity in the series is contemplated. But this nomenclature does not arrest the fluxional nature of consciousness *per se*, which totally ceases to exist in the second moment, in which a new cognition emerges in its place.[3] The analogy of the serpent, which has been trotted out in defence of the permanence of the self, is based on a positive misconception. Because, the serpent too is fluxional and hence its change of postures is possible. If it had been absolutely fixed and unalterable, no such transition could have been possible. Change of moods connotes nothing less than change of nature, absolute and irrevocable.

The argument that ego-consciousness must centre round a permanent self and not any individual conscious state, which

[1] Buddhijanmani puṁsas'ca vikṛtir yady anityatā | Athāvikṛtirātmākhyaḥ pramāteti na yujyate || Dignāga quoted in T. S. P., p. 108.

[2] Nānityaśabdavācyatvam ātmano vinivāryate | Vikriyāmātra-vācitvān na hy-ucchedo'sya tāvātā ||

[3] Na nityaśabdavācyatvam ātmano vinivāryate | Svarūpavikṛiyāvattvāt tadvyucchedo'sya tāvatā || T. S., śl. 273.

being transitory cannot account for its persistence and continuity, also proceeds on a false assumption. Ego-consciousness in reality is absolutely unfounded and as such cannot be affiliated to any ontological principle. Its *raison d'etre* is to be found in the beginningless false tendencies inherent in our consciousness—tendencies which are apt to see reality in unreality, permanence in change. Our ego-consciousness is thus an illusion, which is the product of these tendencies. It cannot be questioned as to why should these tendencies work in some particular consciousness-series and not in others? Because, such questioning is not precluded in the theory of permanent self also. Why should a particular ego-consciousness relate to a particular self and not other selves? If this delimitation is to be explained by the peculiar individuality of the selves concerned, the same explanation is possible in the theory of flux, as the series or the continuum (santāna) does duty for the permanent self and so comes to have all the incidents that happen to the latter.[1]

The opponet may contend, 'Well, you may explain the delimitation of ego-consciousness to a particular subject-series by an appeal to the peculiar individuality of the former. But it does not follow that ego-consciousness should be an unfounded illusion for that.' The answer is that no such foundation can be posited for this ego-consciousness. If it is affiliated to a permanent self as the cause and ground of it, then all the various ego-ideas should be produced all at once. There can be no reason why these ego-ideas should emerge in a graduated scale, as the sole and sufficient cause of these is present intact in the shape of the permanent self. Nor can an eternal verity have any necessity for other auxiliary circumstances, which, we have proved ever and anon, can have no effect on it. Nor again can ego-consciousness be regarded as a single, individual fact. The very fact that such ego-consciousness emerges occasionally is sufficient to prove its multiplicity and plurality. We

[1] T. S., śls. 275-277.

do not have any ego-consciousness in dreamless sleep, in swoon and in fits of intoxication. If in the alternative, this ego-consciousness is supposed to be affiliated to the individual conscious units, then ego-consciousness should be as distinct and pronounced as the individual cognitions, *e.g.*, visual and auditory cognitions, etc., are. But as this is neither of one kind nor of another, it is futile to search for its foundation, which is nowhere.[1]

Kumārila, however, has opposed the theory of unfounded egoism on the ground that vāsanās (tendencies), being memory-impressions or subconscious desires, generated by experience, can never go wrong with reference to their objects. The memory-impression of the ego-idea, too, cannot be erroneous with reference to the ego-principle, which is its object. The reason is that memory is possible if there is an original experience behind its back, and this original experience must be an authentic one, as even error is made possible if there is a previous experience, which must be authentic in the final analysis. So if there is a memory-impression (vāsanā) of the self, it must refer to the real self and not a fictitious self, as the Buddhists would have us believe. And there is no warrant or occasion for our supposing this egoistic reference to be unauthentic, as it has not been sublated as yet by any stronger evidence.[2]

Śāntarakṣita observes that this egoistic reference, out of which Kumārila seeks to make capital, has been proved to be opposed to reason. So it does not permit to be said that ego-experience is an uncontradicted and unerring evidence of the existence of the self.

[1] Nityālambanapakse tu sarvāhaṅkṛtayas tataḥ | Sakṛdeva prasūyeran śaktahetu-vyavasthiteḥ || Anityālambanatve' pi spaṣṭābhāḥ syustataḥ pare | Ālambanārthasadbhāvaṁ vyarthaṁ paryanuyuñjate || T. S.' śls. 278-79.

[2] Jñātari pratyabhijñānaṁ vāsanā kartum arhati | Nātasmin sa iti prajñāṁ na hy asau bhrāntikāraṇam | Tan nāhaṁpratyayo bhrāntir iṣṭo bādhakavarjanāt || Ś. V., P. 720, śls.124-25.

Cf. ' Smṛtihetur hi saṁskāro vāsanā, sā'nubhūte'rthe smṛtiṁ janayatīti yuktam, na tv asau bhrāntihetuḥ, yenātasmin tadgraho'nayā syāditi,' N. R. under the above.

The contention, that memory-impression (vāsanā) cannot go wrong so far as its objective reference is concerned, is baseless and hollow. It is a matter of common knowledge how persons, religiously inclined, conjure up false ideas of God as the First Cause of the world, as an omniscient and omnipotent being and so on and so forth. Kumārila too, is sane enough not to believe in these superstitious vagaries. But what is the root of these ideas? Certainly false impressions, which have been fostered by false teaching and false practices. If these ideas are allowed to be unfounded in an objective reality, why should you make a difficulty in the case of ego-consciousness? We have proved by logic that the latter cannot have an objective foundation, be it an eternal self or a transitory cognition. Kumārila is obviously labouring under an obsession in his endeavour to prove the existence of an eternal self but he has only built a castle in the air.[1]

Concluding remarks.

Before bringing this dissertation to a close, the present writer feels it imperative to make a brief observation with regard to the presentation of the Bhāṭṭa theory of soul in some of the orthodox Brāhminical works. Vidyāraṇya observes that the self according to the followers of Bhaṭṭa is a multiple entity with a two-fold aspect of consciousness and unconsciousness. So it has been compared to a fire-fly for having darkness and illumination both in its constitution.[2] It may be brought into line with Kumārila's conception of the self, if the self is taken to include the concrete whole, both its essential nature and its qualitative contents, the former being self-revealing and the latter being

[1] *Vide* Pañcadaśī, Ch. VI, śls. 95-97.

[2] Nānantaroktayā yuktyā tasya bādhopadarśanāt|| Iśvarādiṣu bhaktānāṁ buddhetutvādivibhramāḥ | Vāsanāmātrābhāvācca jāyante vividhāḥ katham|| Nirālambanatā caivam ahaṅkāre yadā sthitā | Tan nāhaṁpratyaye grāhye jñātā kaścana vidyate|| Tataḥ sarvapramāṇeṣu na dṛṣṭānto'sti siddhibhāk | Hetavaś cāśrayāsiddhā yathāyogam udāhṛtāḥ|| T.S., śls. 281-284.

imperceptible.[1] Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita, the author of the second chapter of the Mānameyodaya, which deals with the metaphysics of the Bhāṭṭa school, on the other hand, has given us a definition of the self, which is of a piece with that of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika school.[2] It is therefore gratifying to observe that Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla have given an accurately correct account of Kumārila's theory, which has been either misunderstood or badly presented by some orthodox writers, who should have known better. This fidelity to a formidable opponent, whom they have subjected to a scathing criticism, instinctively inspires our respect for Śāntarakṣitā and his worthy disciple and commentator. The intellectual honesty of these two authors is an object of sincere admiration, particularly when we consider that authors of even outstanding merit have sometimes failed to do justice to their rivals and sought to gain a cheap victory. But Śāntarakṣita is too great to have love for clap-trap and easy triumphs, gained by not very scrupulous means.

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[1] This conception of the soul of the Bhāṭṭa school as a compound of spiritual and unspiritual factors is a logical construction of the Vedāntist critics and is not the orthodox presentation. This is deducible from the remarks of the Nyāyaratnāvali, " The self (sc. of the Bhāṭṭas) is a compound of a spiritual and an unspiritual factor. By the former it functions as a cognising subject and by the latter, it undergoes modifications as cognition, feeling and the like and also becomes the object of the judgment ' I know myself." The second set of functions is possible in an unspiritual substance, as spirit or consciousness is impartite and unmodifiable according to Vedānta. (*cf.* ' ātmano'sty aṁśadvayaṁ, cidaṁśo'cidaṁśaśca; cidaṁśena draṣṭṛtvam...acidaṁśena jñānasukhādipariṇāmitvam, māmahaṁ jānāmīti jñeyatvāñca ') See P. Śāstrī, Intro. to the P. Mīmāṁsā, p. 95.

[2] This obvious departure from Kumārila is to be set down to the influence of the Śāstradīpikā, in which Pārthasārathi Miśra emphatically denies the essential spirituality of the self and defines it as the substrate of consciousness etc. The plain texts of Kumārila which speak of the soul as pure consciousness and absolute bliss have been unceremoniously brushed aside as concession to unorthodox views (Paramata). It is curious that the same writer in his commentary on the S. V. has plainly admitted the spirituality of the self (P. 2, F N. 3 of this paper)- P- Śāstrī attributes this anomaly to the author's resentment of the Advaita Vedānta doctrines. But I think that quite the contrary is the case, as the position of the S. D. has been accepted by later Mīmāṁsā writers, to wit, Nārāyaṇa and Gāgābhaṭṭa, as the orthodox Mīmāṁsā doctrine. Vide, Mānameyodaya, p. 80 et seq,, Bhāṭṭacintāmaṇi, p, 56, Ben. ed., Intro. to P. Mīmaṁsā, p. 99., Śāstradīpikā, p. 129 Tarkapāda, Bom, ed.),

A DREAM

An old, upright figure, with venerable beard wide-flowing; brown face; brown eyes; long khaki coat; he sat in the shade of the softly rustling *neem* tree, and watched with dreamy half-interest the orderly disorder of the camp. A pack-battery on the march, halting there for a few days; mules kicking and biting, with their packs piled in lines; white soldiers and brown soldiers moving about; officers shouting orders; the old man watched them idly,—and as he did a thought stole dreamily into his brain,—an old half-forgotten memory of a day (how long ago?) when, in blood and flame, he had seen those white soldiers, or others so like them, vanish;—when days, weeks, months had passed, and they and all white people seemed gone for ever,—when he, poor little lonely Nand Singh, had crept out of his hiding places night after night when the hot dusk fell, and sought for scraps of food, and wept and longed for the father, mother, brothers, sisters, whom never more upon this earth was he to see,—and as he thought and dreamed the seventy years rolled back, and he was once more, in fancy, that little frightened boy of that first, most terrible day of all, the precursor of so many other days, only a little less terrible.

* * *

"Whew! it *is* hot! What a climate! I hope to goodness, my dear, that staying here right through the hot weather won't be too much for you,—though I must say you contrive to keep the bungalow pretty cool, compared to the heat outside."

Captain Travers flung himself full length into a chair; mopped his forehead, and looked questioningly at his pretty, gentle little wife.

"Oh no, Robert dear," said she placidly; she waved a palm-leaf fan slowly, though there was already a punkah swaying across the whole length of the room. "I don't really mind

this heat, and it would be so very dreary to go away to one of those lonely places in the hills by myself, and so soon after I've come out, too. Why, I've only to sit quietly here on this comfortable sofa, and do a little sewing, or go comfortably to sleep, with no housework to do, and such heaps of servants. I think it's *so* luxurious. Just to sit on something that stays quiet and doesn't rock about, after all those months on that horrible ship, is heavenly. But come in to breakfast, dear, aren't you hungry? It's ever so late. What kept you so much longer than usual?"

She rose as she spoke, and shaking out the many-frilled, flowered muslin dress, in which she looked so pretty, led the way into the dining room.

"I was kept by one thing and another. By Jove, I must say I am getting extremely bored by this continual parrot-cry of the Civilians here! We had Granville in again this morning speaking to the Colonel about it; he's got a bee in his bonnet on the subject."

"Do you mean this idea of his that the natives are discontented?"

"Yes. He's at it all the time. "Don't trust your men—watch your men—watch who comes into your lines"—Folly! The Colonel knows, and we all know, that the men are as fine a set as ever held a musket. They'll never raise a hand to us. Utter folly!"

"Do you think, all the same, that it would not be wiser to take some steps to make certain? Mr. Granville does seem to know the natives so well,—"

"Nonsense, Mary "—Travers looked somewhat ruffled—"now don't you begin to get nervous, or I'll pack you off to Kassaulee at once."

The little bride flushed, and looked almost inclined to cry.

"Now, Robert, you must be reasonable," she said gently, "you mustn't shout at me. I only mention the matter because I feel that when a man who has lived all his life in India—

didn't you tell me that Mr. Granville was born here, and has never been to England?—says a thing like that, he should be listened to. I think the Colonel—"

"Mary, I didn't mean to be rough, but really you don't understand these matters. Women shouldn't concern themselves with men's affairs;—why, what can you know of my men? But I"—he spoke proudly—"I know them all, and love them as if they were my own children."

He spoke with pride and decision, and Mary, in her sweet little Victorian way, looked admiringly at him, and agreed.

"You must be right, dear."

"I *am* right,—I know it. The men are devoted to us,—they'll never be false to their salt. I can't say about other regiments, of course, but *my* men—why, it's absurd."

"Yes, dear, I'm sure it is. Let me give you another cup of tea; give me your"—she broke off suddenly,—"Is it my imagination, or do I hear a queer sort of noise?"

"Mary, what's the matter with you this morning? It's not like you to be so fanciful. Here, give me another cup of tea, and don't start developing nerves, or I'll dislike that fellow Granville more than ever."

"Still, I *do* think I hear a funny noise. I don't think it's fancy, really Robert. Do stay quite still a moment, dear, and listen."

* * * *

"They are coming, Huzoor. Do you not hear them! Fly! Fly! Take the Memsahib and fly!"

The bearer, Bhim Singh, had rushed into the peaceful room, darkened and closed against the heat, with the punkah softly swaying; his eyes wild and terrified, and his puggari half untied. Terror rushed in with him, and Captain Travers started up.

"What do you mean, Bhim Singh," he exclaimed. "What is the matter with you that you come into the room like this—your shoes on—your puggari half off?"

"Do you not hear them Huzoor?"

Yes, he could hear them—they could all hear them now. The howl ; the roar ; swelling louder and louder every instant ; the blood-cry of a mob, not to be mistaken for anything else, even though never heard before.

"Who are they? What is it all about, Bhim Singh?" cried Travers.

"Come, come, Huzoor! No time to wait and talk. I have heard bad talk for many days in the bazar ; how the sipahis meant to kill their officers and all the Sahib *log*,—I did not believe it, but it has happened! Else what is this uproar? The only hope is for the Sahib and Memsahib to hide ; then the evil people may pass by, and your honours may escape."

"Hide!" It was a distasteful thought to Travers, but he looked at the white-faced, trembling girl at his side, and swallowed that feeling. "Where can we hide, Bhim Singh?"

"Huzoor, in my house. Perhaps you may be safe there, my wife being a purdah-nashin. They may respect the purdah. It is the only chance, Huzoor."

He hurried his master and mistress out of the room and out of the house. No time even to snatch up a hat with that tumult coming so terribly near. Out into the burning May sun, the heat striking almost like a blow, and a dash across the wide compound into the bearer's little house, where his wife now crouched, frightened, with a crowd of small children clinging to her, and the eldest son, fifteen year old Nand Singh, standing sentinel-wise at the door.

It was time. Surging like a giant tide ; crashing and roaring like a giant wave ; the howling mob rushed into that quiet garden. Trampling and breaking down everything, and leaving a track of destruction behind them, they dashed up the steps and overflowed everywhere. Every room is invaded—crowded—where ten minutes ago there was quiet and order, now all is uproar ; wild faces and blood-stained weapons.

Only the punkah went swaying on. Sitting in the verandah outside, the punkah coolie had not seen his master and mistress steal out, and as he had received no order to stop, he went quietly pulling on.

"Aha, brothers, the nest is warm! See the food on the table—the punkah going! They cannot be far. Out! out, and search!"

The yell sent the flood pouring forth again—trampling; searching; tearing; blind and mad with the lust of blood. To the fugitives, cowering in the bearer's house, along with his terrified wife and children, discovery seemed inevitable, and Travers almost gnashed his teeth with rage to think of being found there, weaponless, and dragged out and killed like a dog, unable to strike a blow in his defence, or her's. He looked wildly round for a knife—a stick—anything. Too late! here they were!

* * * *

Old Nand Singh, sitting there in the rustling shade of the *neem* tree, remembers it all so well,—remembers how he stood there inside the door of his father's house, and saw that mob rush up—remembers how he shook with terror, and how his father went outside to speak to them, trying to turn their fury aside. As well try to stop the rushing waters of a flood.

* * * *

"Where is your master, Bearer-ji? Where is he gone? 'Tis useless to hide him. Speak! and the truth, or you die!"

"How should I know, brothers? Why ask me? Would the Sahib tell *me*, think you? He fled with the Memsahib when he heard the noise, and doubtless is far away by now."

"He lies, brothers, he lies! Search his house!"

But Bhim Singh bars the way.

"No, no, brothers, you cannot enter my house. My wife is there, and she keeps purdah."

* * * *

It was then that little Nand Singh saw the Sahib start up, and walk towards the door-way and stand there in the shadow.

* * * *

"Very well, then! If we may not go in, bring out your Sahib. We *will* have him, so bring him out, or we will kill you like a dog!"

"What is all this tamasha about?"

Stooping under the low door-way, Travers stood quietly beside his servant, and at the sight a hideous, triumphant yell burst from the mob of troopers and ruffians from the bazar. The terrified screams from the children clinging to their mother in the hut were drowned in it, and no one but the big brother, Nand Singh, noticed the mem-sahib, too, rise to her feet, and swiftly stooping through the door-way, join her husband outside.

"What is all this tamasha? There is no need to kill my servant. He is your country-man. He could not prevent me from going into his house, so no blame is his. Kill *me*, if you must, but he is guiltless."

"He is not guiltless! He lied to save you—he hid you—slave and faithless one that he is! Let them all die, brother—come, kill all!"

No turning back now of that raging flood. Little Nand Singh, trembling in the shadow, saw those blood-stained weapons stained once more. It was easy to kill the Mem-sahib, but the Sahib, who had somehow got hold of a sword, wrenched, perhaps, out of someone's careless hand, ah, he did not die so easily or so cheaply. He saw his father, his brave father, go down into the dust; he saw his mother dragged shrieking out; he saw—what more.

He remembers no more. Did he crawl into a ditch? Did he lurk in the jungle? How was it that he, and he only of them all, escaped? He cannot say. All is dim and vague.

Misty recollections of days and nights of hunger and terror and loneliness ; of dreadful thirst ; of going to drink at a pool, and finding it bloody. Wandering by night, and hiding by day ; weeping for the murdered mother ; flames soaring heavenwards ; shouting and riot ; jackals, kites and vultures feasting everywhere. He cannot remember after what distance of time and space it was that he found himself amongst white-faced soldiers, and spoken to kindly, and fed and protected, but father, mother, brothers, sisters, never more on this earth did he see.

* * * *

Old Nand Singh, sitting dreaming in the shade of the rustling *neem*-tree ; his beard wide-flowing over his khaki coat ; watched the brown soldiers moving about in the camp, and hardly knew whether he was really eighty-three, or still fifteen years old.

DEBORAH TYNDALL

III

THE DOCTRINE OF THE GATHAS.[1]

It is not necessary to heap abuses at the difficulties and the obscurities of the text; the Gathas are dominated by a distinct theology which is to be seen almost in every line. There is one God who is *Ahura Mazda*. In each strophe, almost in each verse, one may perceive, either by name or under an allusion, one or the other of the Amə̄śa Spə̄nta, and in a number of strophes they appear everywhere. The spiritual (Manan'ha) is distinguished from the corporeal (Astvant—). The tripartite division in thought, speech and action is always present. The good is opposed to the bad and it results in different retributions after death. Such are the main lines of the perfectly coherent doctrine.

A negative trait is striking at the very beginning: the word *Yazata*—" the person who has the right to the sacrifice," which is current in the later Avesta and which was destined to a great fortune, is not found in the Gathas. It occurs only in the group of the *haptaṅhaitī* which is written in the script of the Gathas, but which forms no part of them. The Gathas know only one God who is *Ahura Mazda*. They do not insist on monotheism; but they practically present it exclusively. In the inscriptions of Darius occur the following words: *manā a(h) uramazdā upasatām barature hadā viθaibiś bagaibiś*. "That Ahuramazdā bears me in course with all the gods" (Pers., d., and elsewhere); and virtually, when Herodotus (I, 132) speaks of the religion of the Persians, he sees a polytheism where the gods are natural forces, that is to say, in the ancient Indo-Iranian religion. It is not only the term *baga* which differs from that of the Avesta, namely *yazata*—, passed subsequently into Persian; it is the essence itself of the conception that constitutes the

[1] Translated from Prof. Meillet's " Trois Conferences sur les Gatha de l'Avesta."

difference. The personnel of the different gods which the Vedas employ and which, as can be seen from the surviving traces in the later Avesta and the more ancient evidences of Cappadocia, was Indo-Iranian, is absent in the Gathas.

Another negative trait also calls for notice: the sacrifice has no place. Not only is the bloody sacrifice out of tune with the entire doctrine, ignored, but also the sacrifice of the soma—: *haoma*—appears only in the later Avesta where it occupies an important place. As regards the cow sacrifice described by Herodotus (I, 132) as related to the Persians, it is far away from the religion of the Gathas, beside that the existing Gathas may not be qualified by *θεογουί'η*, as Herodotus expresses it.

Darius boasts of having restored the places of sacrifice, the *āyadanā*, pulled down by the magi or wise men *Gaumata*. The Persian root *yad* is the form corresponding to *yaz* of the Avesta. One feels tempted to ask if Gaumata whom Darius along with a part at least of the aristocratic Persians harassed was not a veritable follower of Zoroaster, which Darius himself was not. One may just put the question, but the hypothesis deserves to be considered. It is curious to observe that the first part of the name *Gaumata* approaches the name of the cow, which occupies so much room in the Gathas.

The Avestan root *yaz* corresponding to Sans. *yaj* and standing for the Indo-Iranian root meaning 'to sacrifice' is not unknown to the Gathas. One finds the verb *yazaitē* answering to Sans. *yâjate* "he sacrifices," and the substantive *yasnō*, corresponding to Sans. *Yajñáḥ*, "sacrifice." But neither the verb nor the substantive properly expresses "sacrifice." There is also a passage where, in the usual enumeration, "thought, speech, action," *yasnō* indicates "thought." Y. XXXIV, 1:

ya syaoθnā yā vacaŋhā ya yasnā amərətatatem aśəmc'a taeibyō dåanha‖ mazdā xśaθrəmc'ā haurvatātō "Actions, words, sacrifice (*i.e.*, the object of thought), for which you have given them, O Mazdā, immortality and Asa and the reign of integrity." It might be noted that the verses, like so many

others in the Gathas, are to be taken with the technical terms strictly defined. It is clear that the word "sacrifice" is here used to mean "thought"; the author admits that the thought of pious men is sacrifice *par excellence*. Moreover, "thought, speech, action" are found again in strophe 2. In strophe 3, the offering is indicated by *myazda*. And it seems that, in strophe 14, the cow sacrifice has been expressly condemned as practised by the enemies of the religion :

"*hyaṭc'ā gāuś ǰ'aidyāi mravī' yə dūrasəm saocayaṭ avō*" "And that it has been said :—To you the cow is such as to procure help to him who puts away death" [duraosā—'who puts away death'—is the epithet of *haoma* in the later Avesta]. This fits in with the known fact that the Gathas ignore—would ignore—Miθra.

The rites have no place in the Gathas ; it is only the question, wholly moral, of opposition between good and evil.

So one reads now, Y. XLIX, 4 and 5, two strophes which contrast good and evil and which, like the verses already cited, contain technical terms.

4. *yōi duræraowā aēśməm varədəm rāməmc'ā*
hvāiś hizubīś fśuyasū afśuyanto—
yaēśam nōiṭ h(u) vaśtāiś vas duzvarśtā
tōi dāevəng dan yā drəgvato daēnā.

"Those who have helped anger and violence to grow by their active thought, by their languages, who do not rise from the herd while there are others who do so rise, those who are fond of wicked acts, not good deeds, have created the *daēva*, with their religious personality from the wicked."

5. *aṭ vaō mazdā īzāca azūitiścā*
yə daēnām vohū sārəśtā manaṅhā
ārmatoiś kascīṭ aśā hazəntuś
tāiśca vispaiś θwahmī xśaθsōi ahurā

"But that, O Mazda, is excellence and profit, who has united his religious personality to Vohū Manō (Good spirit), having every knowledge of Armaiti (read Aramaiti "correct thought") with Aśa. With all these, he is in thy realm, O Ahura."

The line thus drawn between those who are good and those who are wicked is often forcibly marked, thus Y. XLIX, 3 :

tā vaŋhəuś sarə izyāi mānaŋho
antarə vispəng drəgvatō.haxməng [ntarə] mruyē

"Consequently, I wish union w th Vahū mano ; I prohibit communion with the wicked."

The old expression *antarə..... .mruyē* is to be noted here, of which the Indo-European origin h is its exactly corresponding term in latin "*interdīcō.*"

This is not to say that the system followed in the Gathas is dualistic. The Sassanian mazdaism has a tendency towards dualism. But the Gathas do not place the good and the bad on parallel lines ; they are in a relation of antagonism ; a god is the principle of good ; but there is no divine personality for evil which would move on the same level with him.

Undoubtedly, the "Spirit of Evil" "*aŋrō mainyuś*" is opposed to the "Spirit of Good" "*spəntō mainyuś.*"

It is necessary to define "the Spirit of Good," "spəntō mainyuś." The Gathas preserve the Indo-European usage of seeing all force as an active reality of which one feels the manifestation. A moderner would say that the abstractions are realised ; but in truth, what is an abstraction to us was seen as an active force. Spento mainyus is the active principle of all that there is good or profitable in the person of Ahura Mazda.

As evil exists with regard to good, there is also an active principle of evil, simply counterpart of *Spəntō mainyuś*, that is, the Spirit of Evil, *aŋrō mainyuś* (*aŋra*— noted *angra*—in the orthography of the Gathas, being the ordinary adjective for "Evil" and *mainyu*—the ordinary word for the spirit : one sees how this group of two different words is far from the personality

of an *Ahriman*). In the Gathas the principle appears only once under this name, and *añra* is there not close to *mainyu*—this is the passage so prominent in Y. XLV, 2, where the Spirit of Evil is opposed to the Spirit of Good and where the opposition is emphasised by the fact that the Spirit of Good is named in the comparative *spanyā* and not *spəntō* :

aẖ fravaxśyā	*anhəuś mainyū pouruyē*
yaya spanya	*ūitī mṛavaṭ yəm angrəm*
nōit nā mana	*nōiṭ səngha nōiṭ xratavō*
naēdā varnā	*nōiṭ uxδā naēdā syaoθnā*
nōiṭ daēna	*nōiṭ urvānō hac'aiṅte*

"I come to proclaim in the first place the two spirits of the world, of which the better has thus spoken to the worse ; neither our thoughts, nor our instructions, nor our active thoughts, neither our time, nor our words, nor actions, neither our religious personalities, nor likings are alike....."

The personality of an *angrō mainyus* is not firmly determined in the gathas ; this is proved by the fact that in the other passages, however few, where the reference is to the "Evil Spirit," the authors make use of other adjectives : *akō*, Y. XXXII. 5 ; *drəgva*, Y. XXX, 5. The only thing fixed is that a "Spirit of Evil" is opposed to the Good, and that is sufficiently established to enable one to speak of *mainyū* "the (two) spirits" in the dual. Y XXX, 3 and 4 (therefore before the mention of the term drəgva), without explanation.

Spəntō mainyus is the immanent force of Ahura Mazdā, thus Y XXXIII, 12 ; XLIII, 2 ; LI, 7 ; XLIV, 7.

The forces of evil are opposed to Ahura Mazdā and to the Spirit of Good which is his active force, with the *Amə̄sa spənta*, train of beneficent forces which accompany Ahura Mazdā. There is perhaps now and then a theological artifice in the form of these oppositions : *tarəmhiti*—"Thought beyond (rule)" is made to oppose *ārmaiti*-"Correct thought" (that is to say, as

one sees it: ara-maiti-, always in four syllables: the traditional vocalisation is wrong) and *akəm manō* "that which is ill thought" to Vohū manō. "That which is well thought." One has thus, Y. XXXIII, 4.:

yə θwaṭ mazdā asruštīm *akəmc'ā mano yazāi apā*
hvaētəušc'ā tarəmaitīm *vərəzənahyāc'ā*[2] *nazdistam druj'əm*
airyamnašc'ā nidəntō[3] *gəušc'ā vāstraṭ ac'ištəm mantūm*

"I who by my homage keep out from you, Mazdā, Non-obedience and ill thought, and from the noble *v"bρις*, and from the industrious evil-doing close at hand, and that which is outrageous from the brotherhood, and the wicked master from the pasture for cows.

The forces of evil are only the reverse of the forces of good. There is no pantheon of the forces of good, still less is there a pandemonium of the forces of evil.

As regards the *daēva*—, they have no distinct physiognomy in the gathas. It is not possible to ignore them; these were beings well known to all, very familiar to all. There are wicked spirits, opposed to Ahura. Zoroastranism has accepted them without caring to give them an exact place.

The text where the respective role of the two spirits is best defined is Y. XXX. In the strophe 3, *tā mainyū* is spoken of in the dual, and they are qualified by yəmā "twins." they are the "good" (*vahyō*) and the "bad" (*akəm*) in thought, speech, action; one may choose between the two. There is a meeting between the "two spirits" in the beginning:

4. *aṭc'ō hyaṭ tā həm mainyū* *j'asaētem paourvim dazdē*
gaēmc'ā aj'yāitīmc'ā *yaθāc'ā aŋhaṭ apəməm aŋhəus*[4]
ac'išto drəgvatam *aṭ aśāunē vahištəm manō*

"And when the two spirits met in the beginning, they posited life and not-life, in a manner that, to the end of the

[2] This form has been explained above, [3] *nadənto*, in MSS.
[4] The best MSS. have the rather strange form *aŋhuś*.

world there had been the most wicked spirit (*mainyus*) for the wicked and the best thought (*vahistəm manō*) for the just."

What are opposed here are the two spirits, Good and Evil ; *Ahura Mazdā* is far from that opposition. One sees it in strophe 5.

5.	*aya mainiva varatā*	*yə drəgvə ac'iśtā vərəzyō*
	aśəm mainyuś spəniśtō	*yə xraozdiśtəng asnō vastē*
	yaēc'ā xsnaośən ahurəm haiθyāiś	*śyaoθnaiś fraorəṭ mazdam*

"Now the two spirits have chosen the Evil, the worst actions, the most beneficent spirit (has chosen) Asa, him who is dressed with the most solid skies, and those who would satisfy benevolent Ahura Mazdā by correct acts."

The *daēva* exist independently of the Evil Spirit. One sees it the following strophe :

6.	*aya nōiṭ ərəś vīśyātā*	*daēvāc'inā hyaṭ iś ā dəbaomā*
	pərəsmanəng upā j'asaṭ	*vərənātā aciśtəm manō*
	aṭ aēśməm həndvārəntā	*yā banayən ahum marətānō*

"Between the two (spirits), the *daēva* have not made the just choice because error for which they were responsible came upon them. They have chosen the most wicked thought and they are hurled down all together towards aēsma for doing harm to mankind as men."

Between Strophe 6 and Strophe 7 there had been fairly an explanation in prose ; because it refers to *vohū manō* who is not named, and Ahura Mazdā of whom no previous mention has been made is not addressed.

7.	*ahmāic'a*	*xśaθrā j'asaṭ*	*manaṅhā vohū aśāc'a*
	aṭ kəhrpam[1]	*utayūitīś*	*dadāṭ ārmaitiś anmā*

"And to him *Armaiti* is come with Power and Vohū manō and Aśa and she has given help to the body" (the last verse is not translated, when trial by the burning metal,

[1] Evidently a correction by Andreas and Wackernagel.

ayaŋhā, is referred), it is there that the author addresses Ahura Mazdā, simply as *thou*.

In strophe 9, there is an invocation to *Mazdā* and to *Ahura mazdaścā ahuranho*, with the learned plural form of *ahuraŋhō*, which indicates the antiquity of that indication ; that is found exactly again in Y. XXXI, 4. *Ahuraŋho* might not mean the two equals to Ahura Mazdā, Mazdā is moreover isolated in the formula itself. It is the procession or train of forces which surround Ahura Mazdā ; they are named Y. XXXIII, 11.

yə səviśtō ahurō *mazdásc'ā* *a-maitiśc ā*
aśəmc'a frādaṭgaēθəm *manasc'ā* *vohū xśaθrəmc'ā*
sraotā mōi məṛəzdātā mōi

"Very beneficient *Ahura Mazdā* and *Armaiti* and *Asa*, who helps the world to prosper, and Vohu manō and Power listen to me, have pity on me."

The opposition between *fśuyasū* and *afśuyantō*, between "those who bring up the herd" and "those who do not," as has been noted already, p. 57, in Y. XLIX, 4, is significant. The authors of the gathas address themselves to the chiefs but to ask them for the protection of workmen against the tyrants who oppress them, and of the cattle against the wicked masters who maltreat them.

The ritualistic religion of which as far as India is concerned one has, the texts recited in the sacrifices, was that of the great Indo-Iranian aristocracy, direct heirs of the conquering indo-European aristocracy. To cause to make a sacrifice of the Vedic type, with all the priests whom it requires and its elaborate development with minute details, it is necessary to be a powerful chief. The Vedic sacrifice then implies chiefs reigning over numerous subjects who furnish them with abundant resources. The aim of the sacrifice is openly to increase the strength of those who make it for their profit. The gods to whom it is

[6] On these social movements see in the Review : "*L'Anthropologie* (1924, p. 297 ff.) the observations made by Mauss at the *French Institute of Anthropology*, the 19th March 1924.

addressed are known by the image to the great chiefs who participate there.

The religion of the Gathas is that of men, agriculturers and above all shepherds, who live on the produce of the earth exploited by themselves. The Roman cultivator—Rome was governed at first and formed by an aristocracy of peasants—lived surrounded by active forces, propitious or hostile, the *indigetes*, *indigitamenta*; some spirit or other presided over each of his operations: a *ueruactor* for the first labour and a *redarator* for the second, an *insitor* for the sowing and so on. There is one Lucina for the childbed. The Roman cultivator was surrounded by a world of spirits, expressions of each of his actions. Such were the cultivators, the Romans in the ancient world, the Lithuanians close to the modern epoch, who have preserved the cult of these partial forces to which Usener has so justly drawn our attention. (See in the last portion Schrader-Nehring, *Reallexicon d. indogn. Altertumskunde*, II, p. 249.) The world of the Gathas is composed in the same way of active forces which preside over each activity and, as one has seen, it is not the gods, it is the active forces which form the entourage or train of Ahura Mazdā. The cultivator is not interested in an aristocracy of gods who are far away from him; he thinks only of the democracy of forces which might serve or do him herm.

To take them literally, the forces mentioned in the Gathas have an abstract and distant air. But the cultivator knows them to be almost material realities.

Aramiti is not only the correct and measured thought; it is all that which might be associated with measure. The chief, with his *vərəθra* (*tarəmaiti-*) aimed at conquest and domination. The cultivator aimed at the regular outturn of the produce of the earth; (*arəmaiti*) is not only the correct thought, it is the "earth."

Hurvatāt- and *amərətāt-* are not only health and immortality, but also if one wished it, "drink" and "nourishment" of

immortality. These are the waters and plants at which the cultivator aimed, directly or indirectly.

The religion of the Gathas then belongs to a social layer different from that of the Vedic religion. It expressess the aspirations of men who work, who need a peaceful, ordered society, to profit by their work. Hence the first place is given to moral actions, not to the actions of the conquering force.

Thus we may explain the profound differences which are observed between the Gathas and the Vedas.

But the aspiration of the cultivator for a social order which assures to each the just return of his work is scarcely realised in a world still fully dominated by chiefs who lived on conquest and war. The poor, who find in this life so much injustice, are induced to imagine that the celestial forces make good, after death, the evil done in life. The notion of a retribution after death, of a chastisement of violence, of satisfaction rendered to the just, only transposes to the ideal world that justice which is absent from the world of the living.

The fate of the spirit after death is one of the dominant or principal anxieties with the authors of the Gathas.

In Y. XLVI, the author complains of being helpless in this life. He does not know where to go for prayer. Neither rank nor the priests, neither the people nor the chiefs, who are wicked, are with him (Str. 1). He has at his command few cattle, few men (Str. 2). He bows down only to celestial aid. The wicked do not try to make the cows thrive. The faithful count on *Ahura Mazdā* to find them protectors. At length come two strophes where everything is not clear, but where the general sense at least is intelligible :

10. *yə vā mōi nā* *gənā vā mazdā ahurā*
dāyāṭ aŋheuś *yā tū vōistā vahiśtā*
aśim aśāi *vohū xśaθəm* manaŋhā
yaśc'ā haxśai *xśmavatam vahmāi ā*
frō tāiś vispaiś *c'invatō frufrā pərətūm*

"That which, man or woman, O Mazdā Ahurā, creates for me whatever of the world thou knowest to be the best, retribution for Aśa, Domination with vahū mano, and those for which I would resolve to pray to beings like thou, with all these I would pass the bridge of separation (the bridge Cinvat)."

11.	*xśaθrāiś yūjəṇ*	*karapano kavayasc'ā*
	akāiś śyaoθnaiś	*ahūm mərəngəidyāi maśīm*
	yəng hvə urvā	*hvaəc'a xraodaṭ daenā*
	kyaṭ aibī gəmən	*ṇaθā c'invato pənətuś*
	yavai vīspāi	*drūj'o dəmānāi astayo*

"By their domination, by their wicked actions, the *karapan* and the *kāvii* led (?) men to do evil to the world whom their spirit and their religious personality would torment, when they would arrive where the bridge of the Separator stands, bound for a sojourn to the house of the *Drug*."

This judgment, which would be followed by a last judgment, realises at last justice. The man of modest circumstances counts on Ahura Mazdā to protect him here below, and in default of success in this world to re-establish after death justice in his rights.

Thus the Gathas express the resistance of the cultivator to the brutal chiefs who trouble him in his regular activity. It is not a mere chance that this religious movement of the poor people just precedes the establishmeut of the Achamanean dynasty. One practically knows that the Achamaneans had brought under subjection the local chiefs and governed all their empire by means of high functionaries, the satraps, representatives of the central authority. The world was weary of local powers fighting one another which, instead of security, made fight between neighbours a regular event. One would not wish this reign of violence to continue.

This is about the same time that in Greece the tyrants representing the Plebeians fought, often with success, against the traditional aristocracy which exploited the country.

The religious movements of poor people were established then in the neighbouring countries : the religion of the prophets with the Jews, Buddhism in India. The religious reform expressed in the Gathas does not stand alone. And the results of the movements are of the same type : nothing is more removed from the political organisation indicated by the Vedas than an empire like that of the great Buddhist sovereign, Açoka.

All scholars who have studied the Gathas have seen that the moral conceptions there are linked to the facts of the economic and social order. But what is necessary to seek there is not the contrast between the agriculturist and the nomad; no such thing is indicated by the text; and the importance attached to the growth of the cattle does not characterise the agriculturist with reference to the nomad. One is however rather in the presence of the old opposition between the rich and the poor, the warrior aristocrats and the cultivators. It is that opposition which only can explain the main importance attributed by the ancient Zoroastrianism to the doctrine of the retribution after death.

From this point of view as from all others, the situation under which the Gathas remain, has nothing in common with that which the later Avesta represents.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

BRAHMS AND HIS MUSIC

To most of my Indian friends the name of Brahms will be a strange one, and it is my intention to tell you a little about this renowned German composer. When Claude Debussy, a young French musician, newly released from the narrow confinements of the "Grand Prix de Rome" Scholarship, made up his mind to become personally acquainted with as many eminent musicians as possible, he found his most difficult, yet 'greatest,' capture was the great Johann Brahms. Now Brahms, we are told, was both ungracious and 'crusty' toward folk who persistently forced their company upon him. Debussy was aware of this, and fearful of offending the god-like Brahms he enlisted the aid of a lady friend of his who was the wife of one of the secretaries at the French Embassy at Vienna. To this lady, who was a personal friend of Brahms, Debussy related how he had written to, and called to see the German musician, all to no avail. The outcome of it was she arranged a luncheon to which she invited both Brahms and the young Frenchman Claude Debussy. When they were introduced by their hostess Brahms eyed the ambitious Claude up and down for a few seconds and then growled, "Are you the young Frenchman who wrote to me and called twice at my house." Debussy said he was. "Well," said Brahms, "I'll forgive you this time, but don't do it again."

Brahms, in spite of his unfriendly nature, was universally admired, so that whenever he chanced to visit the house of his friends the Herzonbergs at Leipzig, hosts of musicians and would-be musicians would bear down upon him from every angle of the compass. Many uncomfortable scenes were the outcome of these impromptu visits from his well-meaning friends, for if it so happened that the great musician was in a bad temper at the time nothing more rude or abrupt could be imagined than his attitude toward his unwanted guests.

It is common knowledge that most composers who have now won their way into a permanent place in the favour of the fickle public had to undergo a bitter struggle before their works were appreciated and their ambitions realised. But with Brahms it was different, almost at the outset of his career he won instant recognition of his genius. Now I think you will agree that this was remarkable in the light of his open hostility toward the Press and toward other musicians. It has been said that certain bodies of men belonging to principal orchestras simply refused to play under Brahms baton. However, in spite of all opposition Brahms retained his position in the public eye.

Now for a word about the apparently disagreeable side of Brahms' nature. Those who did not know a great deal about Brahms immediately tumbled to the conclusion that he was deliberately ignorant, disagreeable and offensive. This is quite wrong I can assure you. Brahms was incapable of harbouring a vindictive thought against anyone, he simply wished to be left alone, and adopted this abruptness of manner and speech as an effective shield against intruders on his privacy. Inwardly he was most peaceful and gentle. His attitude toward women was much the same, although it is said that he admired a pretty woman if she happened to be a good cook! Like many other musicians Brahms was fond, almost to greediness, of his food. The love-songs that Brahms wrote are exquisitely dainty. For years they have been sung on the concert platform with notable success, and even to-day with all the opposition of modern advancement they do not seem to abate in the public favour one atom. It is odd that Brahms, whilst displaying no outward favours toward the women-folk around him, should write such beautiful love-songs, and it is quite as odd and unaccountable why Brahms' women friends accepted with such docility the blunt, and often offensive, criticisms that he continually offered.

Lauded on every side as a musical genius it would not have been very surprising if Brahms had become conceited and vain

at his priority over other musicians of that period, but although he knew his worth as a composer it enraged him beyond measure to hear his compositions classed along with those of such great masters as Beethoven or Bach, for at that time music critics, lavish in their garnished praises of Brahms' compositions, were wont to call Brahms C Minor Symphony the "Tenth Symphony" implying thereby that it equalled or even surpassed the Ninth (and last) Symphony of Ludwig Beethoven. Brahms' love and respect for the old masters was both deep and profound. As an instance of this let me quote to you a little incident that occurred upon a visit of Brahms to a concert hall where a performance of a Mozart Symphony was taking place. Brahms listened to the music with rapt attention until the orchestra had concluded the slow movement, then he turned to a friend and exclaimed "I'd give every note I have written to have composed that one Andante." This is concrete evidence of his respect for the earlier masters of music.

Brahms was never content to merely borrow, or adapt themes to his own use, his fount of originality was inexhaustible, and his individuality in music writing is so marked that, for the most, his music is instantly recognisable. Quite a number of modern writers and musicians are of the opinion that the great race of musical giants ended with Brahms and Richard Wagner. Of Wagner, I will deal in another article, showing how the ideals and methods of these two notable Germans widely differ, whilst they are both primarily concerned with the vital human emotions.

Brahms learned quite as much from the works of Franz Schubert as he did from Beethoven, but whatever was Schubertian in his writing he enhanced with a greater depth of thought and character than is found in the compositions of Schubert. An instance of his striking originality as against that of Franz Schubert occurs when his E Minor Symphony is compared with Schubert's C Major Symphony.

Countless orchestras have performed, and will continue to perform, those intriguing Ballades, Waltzesand Hungarian Dances of Brahms, but we shall never tire of them, they still hold their first fresh bloom of youth.

Many are the colourful pictures that have been painted of Brahms. He has been denounced for his abruptness, and aloofness from ordinary human society, but when we come to know Brahms fully there is only one name that fits him in every way and that is the 'lovable bear.' If all musical compositions reflect the true personality of their composer, we cannot help but feel that Brahms was all a gentle, warm-hearted, good living man could be.

LELAND J. BERRY

GRAMMAR AND ITS CRITICS

Grammar, strictly speaking, is a natural science. Its function is to register the facts of a language in a certain stage of its development. For its purpose, words which conform to its canons or "correct words" are as valuable as "incorrect" words, *i.e.*, those which do not so conform but have passed current in the language. In every country, however, it soon attains the status of a normative science and arrogates to itself the task of regulating the language of the people. As soon as this happens, a certain section of easygoing people begins to look askance at it.

There is always and everywhere a class of people who are intolerant of any discipline. With grammar, ethics, logic and the like they have no patience. We speak out of an inner necessity, they hold, and the most natural words and expressions are the best. As Patañjali points out, it is not necessary for us whenever we have occasion to use words to go to the house of a grammarian and order some words, just as when in need of pots we go to a potter and order them. **यथा घटेन कार्य्यं करिष्यन् कुम्भकारकुलं गत्वाह—कुरु घटं कार्य्यमनेन करिष्यामीति, न तद्वच्छब्दान् प्रयोक्ष्यमाणो वैयाकरणकुलं गत्वाह—कुरु शब्दान् प्रयोक्ष्य इति।** (Mahābhāṣya ed. by Kielhorn, Vol. I, pp. 7-8). A lover does not care for grammar when pouring out his heart to his beloved, a mother does not think of grammatical accuracy when giving vent to her grief for the loss of her son. Yet the words of the moon-struck lover and the bereaved mother are far more impressive than all the grammarians in the world could ever make them. On the other hand, grammarians and Mīmāṃsakas have always been considered as constitutionally incapable of understanding the softer emotions that stir the human heart. As the king's counsellor very plausibly points out in the Daśakumāracharita :— **यावता च नयेन विना न सिध्यति लोकयात्रा स लोको एव सिद्धो नात्र शास्त्रेणार्थः। स्तनन्धयोऽपि तैस्तिरुपायैर्लिप्सते स्तन्यपानं जनन्याः** (Ucchvāsa VIII).

The amount of policy without which one cannot make one's way in the world one acquires from the world. Sāstra is not necessary for this purpose. Even an infant at the mother's breast makes various movements to suck the milk. Exactly the same thing may be said of grammar. All the knowledge that is necessary for us to communicate our thoughts to others we acquire unconsciously from the conversations of our elders and from our intercourse with the world. Even in the matter of lending grace to a poetic composition, Grammar is not of much use, for its restrictions often lead people to use harsh unmelodious words jarring to the ear. And what useful purpose can grammar serve? You cannot use a word simply because it is sanctioned by grammar if it has not passed current in the language, on the other hand if a word is already established in popular usage, rules for its formation are unnecessary. Grammarians might cry till they are hoarse but they cannot banish words like " visrama," " puratah," etc., from the language.

लोके तु सर्वभाषाभिरर्थो व्याकरणाहते ।
सिध्यति व्यवहारेण काव्यादिशप्यनंगयम् ॥
काव्यशोभास्वपि त्वेतद् नात्रातीवोपयुज्यते ।
वैयाकरणदोषाद्धि कष्टाञ्छब्दान् प्रयुञ्जते ॥
न च लक्षणमस्तीति प्रयोक्तव्यमलौकिकम् ।
लोकसिद्धप्रयोगे तु लक्षणं स्यादनर्थकम् ॥

(Tantravārttika, ed. Chowkhāmba, p. 205.)

It is for this reason that the Naiyāyikas, the most intellectual of philosophers, do not care an 'earthen jar' for grammatical purity in their language. Their view on this point is exceedingly beautifully summed up in the pithy saying attributed to one of them अस्माकूनां नैयायिकेषां अर्थनि तात्पर्य्यं शब्दनि कोश्चिन्ता ? The mass also thinks in the same way. There is the popular saying—

मूर्खो वदति विष्णाय ज्ञानो वदति विष्णवे ।
द्वयोरेव समं पुण्यं भावग्राही जनार्दनः ।

An illiterate man says *viṣṇāya* whereas a learned man says *viṣṇave*. Equal merit accrues to both, for Janārdana considers the inner spirit.

Grammar is worse than useless, urge these people. In the first place the observance of the rules of grammar argues "slave mentality." Secondly, what is the use of burdening the memory " with loads of learned lumber " which will have later to make room for more useful things. " Wozu denn immer lernen was man später doch vergisst! " And have the grammarians themselves followed their own precious rules? Do we not find authoritative sages, authors of the Kalpasūtras and Gṛhyasūtras, Smṛtis and Mīmāṇsā using any number of ungrammatical words and expressions. Is there any limit to the number of ungrammatical forms in the epics, Purāṇas and other sciences like the Hastiśikṣā, etc.? Do we not find what pedants are pleased to term " ungrammatical expressions " in the Vedas even, expressions which no rule of grammar can ever justify? Has it not been said that there are a hundred *apaśabdas* in Magha, three hundred in Bharavi and innumerable in Kalidasa? **अपशब्दशतं माघे भारवौ तु शतत्रयम्। कालिदासे न गण्यन्ते कविरेको धनञ्जयः।**

To take some concrete examples. Every schoolboy knows that the neuter singular nominative of ' *itara* ' is ' *itarat* ' and not ' *itaram*,' yet Masaka writes : *samānam itaram jyotiṣṭomena* and the Sūtrakāra himself writes : *samanam itaram gavā aikāhikena*. It is well-known that when the benefit of the action accrues to the agent, then and then alone Ātmanepada is used, yet in direct violation of all rules of grammar the Sūtrakāra writes—*ahīne bahispavamāuaih sadasi stuvīran* where the nominative is the three officiating priests who do not reap the fruit of the action. Āśvalāyana writes : *pratyasitva prāyascittam juhuyāt* where he uses the suffix " *lyap* " though the root is preceded by a preposition. A greater outrage on grammar could hardly be imagined. In the aphorism " *gavyasya ca*

tadādiṣu (VII. 2. 18) Jaimini uses the word '*gavya*' to mean the sacrifice known as "*gavām ayana*" a meaning the word simply does not possess. On a par with this is his use of the word '*Dyāvoh*'' in the Sūtra "*Dyāvostatheti cet*" (IX. 3. 18) where he means "*Dyāvā pṛthivyoh.*" The author of the Gṛihya-sūtra writes *Mūrdhanyabhijighrāṇam* where the substitution of "*jighra*" *for* "*ghrā*" is absolutely unwarranted. And Yāska whose *Nirukta* professes to impart perfection to grammar has erred in the opposite direction by not substituting "*vac*" for "*bru*" in the line "*brāhmaṇo bravaṇāt.*"

It is for this reason that some have gone so far as to make fun of Pāṇiṇi's rules. One ingenious poetaster writes :

काचं मणिं काञ्चनमेकसूत्रे
ग्रथ्नाति बाला न हि तद्विचित्रम् ।
विश्वेषवित् पाणिनिरेकसूत्रे
श्वानं युवानं मघवानमाह ॥

No wonder that the girl strings together glass, gems and gold, for Pāṇini, who ought to know better, has spoken of the dog, the youth and the king of the gods in the same breath.[1]

A lover is made to cry out in the agony of his soul :

नपुंसकमिति ज्ञात्वा प्रियायै प्रेषितं मनः ।
तत्तु तत्रैव रमते, हताः पाणिनिना वयम् ॥

I sent my mind as an emissary to my beloved, thinking it to be neuter. It, however, dallies in her company. I have to thank Pāṇini for this calamity.

Another scholar with a touch of the logician in him points out that according to Pāṇini, neither the Ganges nor the Jumna is a river, it is land that is a river.

पाणिनेर्न नदी[2] गङ्गा यमुना वा नदीस्थली ।

[1] Pāṇini VI. 4. 133 श्वयुवमघोनामतद्धिते.

[2] There is a play here upon the word नदी, which means a river in literature but is also a technical term in Pāṇini's grammar, meaning, roughly speaking, feminine words ending in ई and ऊ and declined like नदी and वधू.

Some think that Pāṇini, Patañjali and others might have been more profitably engaged in composing love-poems and didactic poems. They point out the great potentiality in this direction in the writings of grammarians. Take for instance such "*samasyāpūraṇa*" as

गुर्वन्तिके क्रिया पूर्वं संज्ञयार्थावबोधनम् ।
करोति पत्युर्युवतिरथ शब्दानुशासनम् ॥

In the presence of the elders the bashful young bride instructs her husband in love by means of gestures, then (after the elders have moved away) she conveys her instructions in words. This is a *samasyāpūraṇa* with "atha *śabdānuśāsanam*" the opening words of the Mahābhāṣya.

"सर्वस्य द्वे" जगति नियते सम्पदापच्च जन्तो-
"र्वृद्धो यूना" सह परिचयात्त्यज्यते कामिनीभिः ।
"एको गोत्रे" भवति पुरुषः सम्पदामाश्रयो यः
"स्त्री पुंवच्च" व्यवहरति चेद् विद्धि गेहं प्रनष्टम् ॥ [1]

"Each has double"—prosperity and adversity are the inevitable lot of every creature.
"The elder, when with the younger"—young maids get friendly left in the lurch.
"One in a family"—there is only one such and he is the one who is prosperous.
"Feminine like masculine"—when this begins, know the house is ruined.

"उपसर्गाः क्रियायोगे" [2] पाणिनेरपि सम्मतम् ।
निष्क्रियोऽपि तवारातिः सोपसर्गः सदा कथम् ॥

[1] This is a *samasyāpūraṇa* with Pāṇini VIII. 1. 1 ; I. 2. 65 ; IV. 1, 93 ; I. 2. 66.
[2] Pāṇini I. 4. 59.

The great Pāṇini thinks that *upasarga*[1] is united to action how them is your enemy, though (rendered) inactive, still united to *upasarga* ?

राजञ् यद्यपि ते बाह्व कान्तालिङ्गनलालसौ।
तथापि समरे भेत्तुं "शक्तौ हस्तिकवाटयोः" ॥[2]

Though your arms, O king, long to embrace the beloved still for shattering in battle they have "strength in case of elephant-*kavāṭa*" (*i. e.*, they are strong enough to shatter the temples of elephants in battle).

KSHITISH CHANDRA CHATTERJEE.

[1] There is a pun here on the word "upasarga," which means both "preposition" and "calamity."

[2] Pāṇini III. 2. 54.

THE MORAL ORDER IN THE SHAKESPEARIAN TRAGEDY

The application of Psychology to the profound tragedies of Shakespeare reveals the remarkable fact that, in the vicissitudes of human life, the illustrious dramatist beheld not, apparently, the inscrutable vagaries of a mysterious power, but, really, a systematic adjustment of conditions. Indeed a minute analysis of the inner mechanism of his individuals completely reverses the superficial judgment of common sense, while it unfolds a definite principle in the sphere of the subtle self that regulates accurately their fortunes' ebb and flow.

But, as Shakespeare "held the mirror up to" the actual world, a preliminary investigation into the nature of the Self or character becomes not merely seasonable, but, even imperative for a thorough comprehension of the dramatic details. The scope of enquiry, however, includes, besides the conscious and the conative elements of the Self, the sub-conscious and the affective sides as well. For in a correct and complete estimate of the moral Self, the importance of the negative and obscure elements is certainly on a level with the positive and the more obvious elements. Indeed, as Browning observes,

> "Not on the vulgar mass
> Called 'work' must sentence pass,
> Things done, that took the eye, and had the price;
> . . . . . .
> But all, the world's coarse thumb
> And finger failed to plumb,
> So passed in making up the main account,
> All instincts immature,
> All purposes unsure,
> That weighed not as his work, yet, swelled the man's amount.

Thoughts hardly to be packed
Into a narrow act,
Fancies that broke through language and escaped :
All I could never be
All, men ignored in me,
This, I was worth to God, whose wheels the pitcher shaped."

Now, it is a fact well-established by introspection, that the Self in us is a central and unitary principle which forms the background of all our activities and experiences ; and, that though it extremely differs from all material substance, it, yet, remains evidently in close sympathy with the body. It is, indeed, not a dogma that it is the Self that ultimately feels within us, and apprehends the various circumstances and compares them, that it is the Self, the ego within us that deliberates, and initiates original lines of conduct.[1]

As such, the doctrine of automatism must really remain "the discarded key of the scientific workshop.". For when it approaches the question of the predispos tions of a child, it points, exclusively, to its congenital neural dispositions for a complete explanation of the embryonic character. But, when it does this, it thrusts reason aside, and, presumes that mental life, is like the whistle of a passing train, an unessential bye-product of physical activity.

We must, of course, discard this view, and admit that the gamut of character does not wholly come under the sphere of material phenomena, but falls distinctly under the psychical, as the essence of a real and relatively permanent self. We must, again, attribute the early dispositions to the activity of this subjective principle and regard the undefined purposes and dreams, exclusively, not indeed as the outcome of a mysterious creative process, but as a natural sequence to an antecedent series of purposeful activity.

Clearly, then, the Self existed prior to its appearance in the present physical frame, and it moulded and adapted the

[1] *Vide* McDougall's ' Body and Mind.'

individual's neural systems to its inherent purposes. Character thus becomes the tale of a by-gone times—a succinct record of prior activity. But, it also looks forward as a prophecy of the future. For, its early manifestations in the dreams and actions of children indicate unmistakably the direction of their career.

But, while it is even true that character in its positive aspect, or, in the active phase of volition and desire, is a prophecy, it is none the less true that in its negative aspect also, or, in the passive phase of presentiment, it likewise displays the same property. A perfect knowledge, then, of both sides of the moral self makes it possible to predict not merely the future acts of the individual, but the events as well that are likely to be experienced by him.

Now, Shakespeare, in his masterpieces, evinces a deep study of both these phases, and shows that the traits which may be observed in an individual, either in his soliloquy, discourse, or action, invariably function as infallible indexes of his fortunes. He does not, however, obtrude these traits and mar the natural art, but accords to them the same place and value that Nature herself allots to them.

But, in order to understand fully the importance of this psychological manipulation, it is necessary to examine the role of the dispositions in greater detail. It was mentioned that a tendency or a set of tendencies serves as a kind of shadow before the approaching object. In rare cases however,—that of the 'Heavenly True' Desdemona is an instance in point—the fact does not become apparent so easily. But even here, features are visible in her character which create a suspicion, more or less, as to the probability of a uniformly smooth voyage for her. So, on the other side, the marvellous fact finds direct expression from the mouths of his characters. It comes out, for instance, with great significance from a man like Cassius, who comes to admit that he does "partly credit things that do presage"—as the confession proceeds from a shrewd man of the world,

who was obliged at last by the sheer force of events to veer round from positively contrary persuasions.

Indeed, the experience of a general elation, and genial peace in our hearts before happy incidents greet us, and of presentiments, with a heaviness, gloom and unrest, before evil presents itself, receives the unreserved credit of reflective minds. For, fictitious as it may appear to minds that are coarse, the experience is a remarkable fact, subtle surely, but, nevertheless, real.

Now, when the intellect takes up the question, it partly robs the mystic fact of its isolated grandeur. For, it at once lights the path and points to the intimate connection of the dispositions with the events the self has to experience; and, argues that the possibility of fore-knowledge clearly implies systematic relations between the present and the future. It, thus, lays down that the dispositions of personality, in their temporal relations display not a chaos of orderless elements and functions, but the indispensable necessity of a system.

But, before this system could be defined, introspection must come to our aid again. It has already made us familiar with the profound fact that "the soul contains in itself the event that shall presently befall it," or, stated otherwise, that the experience of a moment, which is the unitary resultant of the physical states at that moment, is entirely involved in the antecedent dispositions of the Self. It, now, tells us, in addition, that in the ceaseless stream of consciousness, the physical attitude that immediately precedes the experience has not appeared all in a moment without a cause, but has had a definite history, and is the exclusive product of a subtle evolution from the imperfect dreams of childhood.

Now, from this double aspect of character, it is readily seen that an apparently 'undeserved' experience really existed in the self as intuitions, or inevitable thirsts, long before its actual occurrence and that this embryonic experience came in continuation of past activity. Further, it is obvious that the

positive element of a fresh act is totally absent in this case, and that the negative thirst alone holds the fields. From this it is clearly to be inferred that the negative element has a real positive counterpart of a self-initiated act in an antecedent life which has left its impressions behind in the dispositions of the present personality; or in other words, that the complete act of a former life presents in the subsequent life as a negative tendency which generates the passive and seemingly disproportionate experience.

Character is, thus, a system; a living system, that arises out of the past, and shoots up into the future, indeed, as the fruit of the one, and, as the seed of the other. And its continuous flux obeys the law of a temporal order, so that the ego realises the end of its dispositions either as a fresh action in the chain of causation or as a reaction which completes the circle and quits the Self, at determinate distances in the time series.

Indeed, the law of equal and opposite action throws much light on the problem of human experiences. It is, in the first place, perfectly conceivable on the moral plane; and has, besides, a corollary in the fact established at the start. To argue back, it tells us that our 'unmerited' experiences are merely the sure reversal of actions of similar quality and intensity attributable to our own agency; and that, even if we cannot pick out the action here, we must necessarily assign to it a place and time in an antecedent series.

So then, the mind, we have seen, underlies all activities and experiences. But acts partake more of a physical, or psychical character according as they manifest themselves in the visible act or remain as unexpressed volitions. In either case the law of retribution takes effect in regard to the act in its own plane and intensity of projection, and exercises its sway over all the acts that arise out of the limited Self.

Indeed, all conations directed to a definite end when they reach their crises, turn on the author inevitably. Thus the

acts completed leave permanent impressions in the consciousness of the individual. These impressions, however do not, always emerge to the surface; but, just persist, without any diminution, in the recesses beyond the threshold to give rise to negative dispositions which are the intermediate 'links' so to say, in the chain of cause and effect. And, these, in their turn, develop the experiences of reaction. Thus, the 'links' function as heralds of our destiny. And, as we saw, in the conquest by death, retribution suffers no defeat.

Or, in the phraseology of physical science, we may perhaps say that our desires receive the maximum energy from the self and become definite volitions. These, then, descend into the complete acts. The acts cast their images, of course, in the personality of the doer. And, these images, which are real, condensed, and inverted, get magnified with the process of time to the dimensions of the original acts.[1]

Or, again, with the observant Warwick we may say,

> "There is a history in all men's lives
> Figuring the nature of the times deceased,
> The which observed, a man may prophecy
> With near aim, of the main chance of things
> As yet not come to life, which, in their seeds
> And weak beginnings lie intreasured.
> Such things become the hatch and brood of time."
>
> *ii Hen. IV, Act III, Sc. 1.*

Thus, the rôle of dispositions has become clear enough and obviously, it demands an extension of our vision to the Self's successive rounds of birth and death. Now, in the Shakespearian tragedy, it certainly suggests a continuous development from a hidden past to an obscure future—a development that fully justifies the absolute sway of natural retribution.

[1] The inversion represents the recoil. We may also compare a desire to a body that acquires potential energy till the end of its course, and begins to release it to develop an equivalent amount of kinetic energy in its return to the point of projection; while, however, we do not forget that it is a self that desires, acts and feels.

To return, then, to the unfortunate Desdemona. She was, indeed, an extremely amiable and devoted wife, unique, perhaps, among her sex, in her total ignorance of the world's false forgeries! But withal, she was a woman possessed of an extraordinary degree of inconsiderate impulse, an inordinate sentimental rage, vitalised and fanned up by an ungovernable fancy. For, alone, surely, out of this condition, she,

> "a maiden never bold;
> Of spirit so still and quiet, that her motion
> Blushed at herself;"

a maid, indeed,

> "So tender, fair, and happy,
> So opposite to marriage that she shunned
> The wealthy curled darlings of our nation,"

jumped so headily for the ideal bliss of a fantastic love. Through the fury, indeed, of her infatuation, she perceived a 'divided duty,' and dared,

> "in spite of nature,
> Of years, of country, credit, everything,
> To fall in love with what she feared to look on."

But, then, when she snapped the filial bond so roughly, and sold her 'soul and fortunes' to the Moor for a parcel of his high romance she, really, alienated herself from virtue.

But, surely, she might have looked before she leapt? She might, also, have checked that rebellious march of her imagination, which overbore her prudence? Ideally, yes; but, actually, she flamed up in the rush while she made "down-right violence" the means to accomplish her end. Verily, the tyrrany of a headstrong love

> "Burns up every other tie.
> Therefore, comes an hour from Jove
> Which his ruthless will defies,

And the dogs of Fate unties.
Shiver the palaces of glass ;
Shrivel the rainbow coloured walls,
Where in bright art, each goc and sybil dwelt
Secure as in the Zodiac's belt ;
And the galleries and halls,
Where every siren sung,
Like a meteor pass."

Emerson.

But, in strict truth, it is not proper to balance her lamentable lapse against the terrible calamity that befell her ; although her unreasonable attitude and reckless behaviour may, perhaps, incline us to do so. For, certainly, it requires no great reflection to understand that her dreadful fate not only widely differs from, but far outweighs, any action of hers that we see, or, can, possibly, fit in with the universe of her character. The right point of view on the other hand, is, that, in the life of Shakespeare's Desdemona, it is, chiefy, the influence of a reaction that asserts itself, and that a remote action, outside our vision, now, reverses itself under the present environments and conditions. Thus, it is in fact, the progress of the reaction that becomes the unavoidable influence that fashions her present conduct, and also the ill-luck that makes her, for no fault of hers, here, a target for the foul practices of a fiend, like Iago.

So, now, in the resistless tide of experience, the doomed Desdemona succumbs to the most singular temptation of her heart, and, gives every inch of her body and soul to suck the "fiery sweet" of a fatal love. And, presently, of course, in the vista that lay before her, she observes a speck which steadily looms into prominence. Surely, the broad fact of her death, in her speech to Cassio,—

" For thy solicitor shall rather die
Than give thy cause away,"

she sees, as it were, in the womb. And, a little ahead, in her pathetic readiness for death and her remarkable outburst of the

'Willow Song!' the strange song that significantly recurred to her prophetic soul, she unquestionably assures us of her fatal end.

Indeed, in a sense, it may be said that her evil angel was, her husband, Othello. For once, to wed him she sacrificed her filial duty ; and, now, to exculpate him lapsed into a lie ; and, in the end, for all her great love, got the 'most unkindest cut' from him. But, in the real sense, it was "nobody, but herself" that determined her career, and the foul end that appears so undeserved.

And, as regards Othello himself, the elemental passion of jealousy, that goes usually as a disagreeable concomitant of a too ardent, but unwise love gathered in him, among fatal circumstances, its evil to a head. And apparently, it gave a proper hold for the wronged father's curse. For clearly, it was the 'deceit' that excited his jealousy. It was the 'deceit', above all, that burned him like hell-fire though, in fact, the particular 'deceit' that unhinged him was a figment of his credulous mind. In reality, however, it was the fatal burst of his own deepseated inborn Vice that so much bedevilled him as to smother out his "better half."

But, of course, the act lay not idle. It duly spurred him to its inevitable conclusion, where, "Necessity, calm, beautiful, passionless, without a smile spread her terrible warp" and wrenched her due.

It is, thus, patent that Othello's calamitous end is not a random stroke of blind chance, but the legitimate result of an inevitable process. Hence, it is not in the least improper that, in the sentiments he utters,

> "For, I fear
> My soul hath her content so absolute
> That not another comfort like to this
> Succeeds in unknown fate,"

the "awe of prosperity" rings in unmistakably clear accents,

Hence, again, it is not strange that, at the crest of his intense delight,—

> " It is too much of joy:
> And this, and this, the greatest discords be
> That e'er our hearts shall make."

his subconscious provision signifies the jar that was to come.

Nor, indeed, does Iago, with all his acute wit, escape. He, too, like his greater prototype, the Prince of Darkness who rebelled against the Lord of Judgment, failed and fell. For, he found, at length, that he was irremediably hampered in the pursuit of his villainous hobby, while he was reserved for due torture in a fit time and place. Surely, his summary disposal by murder or execution would be very inartistic. For, it would be an unwarranted interference with the course of nature. Indeed, in an excerpt from nature as the Shakespearian drama is, which confines itself to the close of Othello's life, a summary disposal of Iago for the sake of 'Poetic Justice would be a premature and absurd procedure.

But, better perhaps, does Hamlet, with his exceptionally intuitive mind, illustrate the secret evolution of the moral forces. Evidently, he sounds the tragic note at the very first start. For, his great mind is overborne by a terrible sorrow; and, he thinks of escape by self-slaughter, from this 'weary, stale flat, and unprofitable world.' But, he cannot; for the time is out of joint, and, requires him, of all men, to 'set it right.' Indeed, the struggle of the great soul easily discovers the vague shadows of the 'undiscovered country,' to which he must sail, at no distant time.

There is also in Hamlet the other aspect. And, it suggests to us to connect the destructive thoughts of revenge that he nurtured with their inevitable recoil which " blasted his youth and reason." It, further, strikes a possible balance between his murder of the ill-fated eaves-dropper

Polonius, and the unsuspected hand of the 'fell sergeant' on himself.

Macbeth, likewise, betrays the tenor of his fate. For despite his scruples of conscience, he unmasks his real stuff of deep, deadly and damnable desires of black ambition; and, of course, does not disappoint us when they grow and culminate in his hideous deeds of darkness. Nor does he disappoint us, too, when, with all his strategic manœuvres, he failed utterly to circumvent the inevitable returns which bubbled up in his strange fits and his terrible dreams, and which invaded him in the shape of apparitions and ghosts, that so clearly marked the end he so richly deserved.

At this juncture, the mysterious intervention of supernatural phenomena, often so awful, in the great reflective pieces of the mature poet, deserves a brief notice. In the first place, it must be fairly obvious that the introduction of this strange element by Shakespeare is not exactly on the same lines as the classic dramatist's employment of the "Deus ex Machina." In the "romantic" poet it points, surely, to a high order of interpretative genius; while, in the other, it, perhaps displays only the exaltation of primitive superstitions. Indeed, Spirits and gods in the serious tragedies of Shakespeare seldom interfere with the natural evolution of the dramatic events. On the contrary, they enter into the human arena, merely, to give an intensely vivid impression of epochs in the lives of heroes, or, in other words, to merely indicate the crises in a man's character which precede a massive evil or good. Thus, their manifestation, primarily, depends on the character of the individual; and, their function is, therefore, analogous to the dispositions that foreshadow the destiny of the Self. Thus, to Posthumus, Jupiter promises a life of perfect bliss after the ordeals of his eventful life; while, to Brutus, the ghost of Caesar strikes a different note—the note of a catastrophe; while again, in Hamlet his vision of the ghost merely awakens the unblossomed Spirit of Vengeance, already in evidence in his violently agitated

bosom ; and, ushers him to a giddy career of revenge. It only drives home, then, that

> " Our acts our angles are, for good or ill,
> Our fatal shadows that walk by us still."

Now, let us turn to Caesar. We feel, in the first instance, that his countless ambition and self-glorification are ominous traits. And, then, though we see but little of the actual performances of this historic personage, we know that he is doomed ; for, this inevitable fate is foreshadowed in a variety of ways. We know, indeed, that his instinctive fear and suspicion of Cassius, the originator of the conspiracy, is but natural ; and further, that his overconfidence, when he says,

> " Would he were fatter ! but I fear him not,
> Yet, if my name were liable to fear
> I do not know the man I should avoid,
> So soon as that spare Cassius,"

is ill-timed.

When we turn now to Portia, the wife of Brutus, we meet with a slight check in our endeavour to apply the theory. For, as in a number of other minor characters, we do not get the necessary acquaintance with her inner life to enable us to perceive the web of her destiny. But, here, we should remember that the main interest of the dramatist rightly centres round the primary characters ; while a similar attention to the secondary figures is neither necessary from the point of view of dramatic art, nor even proper. Yet, in spite of this, we could gather that Portia was imbued with a dash of whim, a curious tendency to needless sacrifice. We could, yet, hit upon her 'voluntary wound' as a strange circumstance which illumines a material trait in her moral nature ; and, perhaps, rightly, conjecture that this tendency to self-torture was a significant precursor of the last act of her life—her suicide.

Similarly, in Lear, we find another notable instance of an apparent failure of justice. Yet, we are not baulked, entirely,

of the sure traces of an ancient vice. We, surely, deplore his childish folly; and we wish that his blind disregard of artless virtue were a passing mood. We can, indeed, feel with him in all his tribulations; but, we cannot, withal, fail to discern that his unconscious sympathy with humbug and wickedness and his perfect enmity with plain reason are fatal traits which proclaim the advance of disease, insanity and death.

Kent, his servant, on the other hand, refreshes us with an excellent contrast. For, unlike his master, he possessed a vigorous practical sense; while, with a superb faith and a strength all round, he presented quite the picture of a man. And, of course, with the hold on virtue that he possessed, and with the wealth of wisdom he owned, he defied all harm, and steered himself clear of the general disaster.

What, then, about Cordelia? Her case, too, is no exception to the law. For, one may read, even at the outset, that her spotless life was a beautiful sacrifice to the truth; and, may thus easily acquiesce in the awful conclusion as only a pre-ordained result that, pitiful as it is, leaves, yet, a celestial breath behind. For, one feels in one's heart:—

"Upon such sacrifices, the gods themselves throw incense." Indeed, one gets a thorough shake from one's moral scepticism when the great seer finishes her story with her 'soul in bliss.' But, what a world of contrast between this heavenly angel and the infernal wretches, Goneril, Regan and Edmund! Possibly, the full cup of their desert was not exhausted here. "Through labyrinths of issues," it may, perhaps, yet, dog them to their accursed lips.

We have done. But, before we conclude, we may touch upon an allied topic—the efficacy of prayer in the mitigation of the back stroke. Now, on this point, we have, in all probability, a fair glimpse into Shakespeare's mind when he makes the villain Claudius soliloquise,

> "Though inclination be as sharp as will:
> My stronger guilt defeats my strong intent;"

to pray. Here, we see, clearly enough, that prayer, at any rate, in extreme cases, not only is no remedy for sin, but, is, even, next to impossible. Indeed, such a tremendous handicap we consider only too inevitable, as the onward surge of vice towards its natural compensation can neither be repressed nor reduced :—

> " There is no shuffling, there the action lies
> In his true nature, and, we ourselves compelled
> Even to the teeth and forehead of our faults
> To give in evidence. What then? What rests?
> Try what repentance can: What can it not?
> Yet, what can it, when one cannot repent?
> O wretched state! O bosom black as death!
> O limed soul, that struggling to be free
> Art more engaged....."

Here, in these typical instances, we have tried to indicate briefly the irresistible gravitation of the dynamic self to appropriate circumstances for the realisation of the negative as well as its positive tendencies. We have, already, seen that the rudiments of character are an ' inheritance ' from a bygone time : and, that the whole forms a system, in which the act inevitably ingrains the tendency, and the tendency necessarily engenders the consequence.

In the mature dramas of Shakespeare, then, we hear a complex tune that, for all its semblance to discord, wafts, yet, the harmony of a sovereign order that reigns in the realm of human experiences. In them, we hear, indeed, the eternal music of nature that subtly, but, none the less, really, hints of the reality of retribution by the forward perceptions of the self, and, its progressive actualisation of its dreams in a series of lives. While we wake up now, to its sublime drift, we feel the influx of a deep sense of awe that urges us to rely solely on our rational self and adjust our lives to the ideal perfection of existence.

P. NARAYANAN NAYAR

ANOTHER SONG

(*From the French of Victor Hugo.*)

'Tis morning, yet thy door is closed,
Why sleepest thou my darling dear ;
The rose is in her purple bloom,
Open thy eyes, my love, and hear.

Awake, my love, awake
From thy soft shadowy sleep ;
Awake for pity's sake,
For you I sing and weep.

All knock upon thy blessed door,
The morning cries, "I am the light,"
The wild bird says, "I'm melody,"
My heart sings, "I am Love the bright."

Awake, my love, awake
From thy soft shadowy sleep ;
Awake for pity's sake
For you I sing and weep.

The angel and the woman thou,
One I worship, the other love;
In thee God made me one and whole,
Thy beauty is my God above.

Awake, my love, awake
From thy soft shadowy sleep ;
Awake for pity's sake
For you I sing and weep.

RAMESCHANDRA DAS

CHARLES LAMB

"Saint Charles!" Thackeray exclaimed, as he laid down one of Lamb's letters. Charles Lamb! The prince of familiar essayists! Lowell opens a brilliantly original essay on Chaucer with these words, "Will it *do* to say anything more about Chaucer? Can anyone hope so say any thing, not new, but even fresh, on a topic so well worn?" And we, with even more justification, might exclaim, 'Who can say anything fresh about Charles Lamb?"—Charles Lamb, the same yesterday, to-day and forever! Dip into him anywhere—into Mrs. Battle's love for the rigour of the game; into *Old China*, where he reverently fingers the broken pages of an old Folio Beaumont and Fletcher and enters into the task of "collating" as upon a wonderful voyage of discovery; into the frank revelation of himself, his weaknesses and his fears, in *New Year's Eve*; into the beautiful and tender irony of *Mackery End*; into the whimsical humours of *The Convalescent*, which cause a lump to rise in the throat and summon tremulous smiles to the lips—dip into him anywhere, and you come into living touch with a personality—the same personality whose whimsical remark, "Give me man as he is *not* to be" won even Hazlitt to him; the same personality who cheerfully sacrificed himself to his frail sister, and walked the streets of London regarding with the eye of love all that was old and venerable, all that was odd and eccentric, all that was weak and helpless, all that was lovely and of good report. To all men who know him, here was a man to whom all that was worth noting in life was the poetry of it; whose love of human kind enabled him to understand the foibles of men and to pluck the sting out of his own personal sorrow; who lingered long over human nature, over literature, over his own experiences, until, not suddenly and piercingly, but gradually and dawningly, the light of what Jesus calls The Kingdom of God grew upon him. And when we read

Lamb at the present day, this is the personality whom we still meet, a little old-fashioned in the way in which his fancy lingers and plays over things of the heart, a little old-fashioned perhaps, in his way of expressing himself, but always full of the milk of human kindness, a kindred spirit to all humanity, exercising a wonderful personal spell upon his reader, awaking within him fountains of innocent mirth, touching him to tears, opening his mind and heart to the beauty wherein truth lies. There are various technical differences between Lamb's style and that of Hazlitt. But the one great organic and essential difference is this. Hazlitt's style is infectious from the intellectual point of view only: it embodies the play of Hazlitt's own bright intellect and conveys Hazlitt's own keen, personal enjoyment, whether of battle or things beautiful and true. But it never endears the man. Lamb's style, on the other hand, is Lamb-tender, lingering, full of natural graces, essentially subjective, tugging always at the heart-strings. One sentence of the *Essays of Elia* will do more to reveal the real Lamb than volumes written upon him; and his own Preface to the Second Series is a revelation of the secret of his essential charm. It is the secret of a great and human sympathy—an amazing faculty of entering into the feelings of others and expressing his own through them. Lamb's is the universal human sympathy of Shakespeare: only, unlike Shakespeare, he does not always (though he sometimes does) mask himself behind his characters. He is frank, personal, conversational, familiar, in his utterance.

Lamb's Essays attract, then, because they are the "Flesh-Garment," a re-incarnation, of Lamb's own personality, his likes, his dislikes, his friends, his hobbies; and that personality was of such a nature that it will have a strong appeal to men while human nature lasts. For, like most of the men and women who since the beginning have moved the heart of the world, Lamb was an eccentric humorist. Shakespeare explored the mysteries of human nature, and who of all his

characters is the wisest? Not Hamlet, not Jacques, none of his men of the world, but the loyal, tender, courageous, yet frail, half-witted, nameless Fool of *Lear* That is a powerful and significant commentary on the mind of Shakespeare in regard to the wisdom that moves the world. It is not your wiseacre who inspires mankind with the hope and courage which keep humanity on its onward and upward march, but the visionary, the eccentric, the fool! Reason has less of moving and inspiring potency than the sympathy which arises from an understanding of men's frailty and foolishness. At the end of *All Fools' Day*, Lamb has an extraordinarily illuminative vindication of himself and of all the people and characters whom he loved. "Take my word for this, reader, and say a fool told it you if you please, that he who hath not a dram of folly in his mixture hath pounds of much worse matter in his composition—And what have been some of the kindliest patterns of our species, but so many darlings of absurdity?" Yet in spite of his warning to his readers not to confess themselves April Fools by wresting his words beyond their fair construction, by a few of his contemporaries Lamb was misunderstood. He seemed to trifle with things which will not bear trifling with, to endow with an exaggerated importance things of little intrinsic value. The *Essays of Elia*, Southey wrote in the *Quarterly*, wanted only a sounder religious feeling to be delightful as they were original. Lamb's irresponsibility in such essays as *New Year's Eve* shocked Southey's moral sense! Nor did Carlyle appreciate and do him justice—which accounts, perhaps, for Lamb's failure in turn to appreciate Scotsmen.[1]

This is but an instance of greatness misunderstood. Lamb was an eccentric who, as most of us are, was attracted to persons and things eccentric and odd.[2] The very incongruity of his titles shows this. *Roast Pig, Grace Before Meat, A Bachelor's Complaint, The Praise of Chimney Sweepers*—only

[1] *Imperfect Sympathies.*

[2] See Hazlitt's *Of Person One Would Wish to have seen.*

the eye of an eccentric humorist could have seen the gold that lay at the heart of such unpromising material. So with the people who crowd his pages. The old occupants of the South-Sea House, George Dyer of *Oxford in the Vacation*, the old benchers, even his cousin Bridget of *Mackery End*—what a host of diverse personalities! Yet who of these is not an eccentric, a "humorist," a "character"? It is seen also in his attraction towards old buildings and localities, whose very genius he absorbed. And what he most loved in literature was the old, the far-fetched, the fanciful and unexpected—the heart-easing quips and conceits and images of "these old crabbed authors," Fuller and Burton and Browne. And if we only thought on the matter, these are the very persons and things which have at all time proved the strongest attraction for all humanity. We are all fools and eccentrics, possessed of the foibles and the frailties of the flesh. "He that meets me in the forest to-day shall meet with no wiseacre, I can tell him. *Stultus sum*. Translate me that, and take the meaning of it to yourself for your pains. What! man, we have the four quarters of the globe on our side, at the least computation." Hence the appeal of Lamb is universal for the general run of men his writings have what Poe calls "an indispensable air of consequence." In living imaginatively in the past, in letting his affections gather, and grow, and linger round the places and people he loved for their very oddities, he reveals his own love for humanity, which is also the instinctive love which lies at the heart of mankind. In a letter to Wordsworth he exclaims, "Have I not enough without your mountains!" He clung to London because he loved men. Lamb's readers are always in sympathy with him because of the richness of his personality, the universality of his sentiment, his great and essential wisdom. His humour may be eccentric, fanciful, far-fetched, facetious: but it is also fine and subtle, always in perfect taste, illumining the highest and widest reaches of tenderness, courage, sympathy, charity, judgment, *sanity*. It is extraordinary how

many men who were eccentric, or even have at times experienced the cloud of insanity, have stood apart from their age for their understanding. Cowper, Johnson, Blake, Lamb—these were eccentrics and madmen, if you will. Yet who of their contemporaries command more respect than they? Lamb is eccentric in his vagaries, caprices, whims, in thought and style! yet not one of his contemporaries reveals a consistency of essential wisdom and understanding like unto his. Like Goldsmith, but in intenser degree than Goldsmith, he combines sane wisdom with amazing tenderness.

And the style is the man. You cannot dissociate his essays from Lamb himself. You cannot speak of one save in terms of the other. That is the only justification for an extraordinarily acute piece of criticism on the part of Canon Ainger, which is applicable to no other writer in the language: "It is not the antique manner—the "self-pleasing quaintness" —that has embalmed the substance. Rather is there that in the substance which ensures immortality for the style." That is true because the substance of Lamb's essays *is* Lamb, whose charm of style, like his capricious humours, can be described only by the term "Lambish."

What, then, is there to be said of Lamb's style? Lamb, in truth, has a variety of styles. Some of the essays written for Hunt's periodical show in startling fashion the early influence which the eighteenth century periodical essay of the *Spectator* pattern had upon him. No other production of the nineteenth century hits Addison off so well as *A Bachelor's Complaint*. The general aim of the essay, the beginnings of the sentences, the "stringing up of all my married acquaintance by Roman denominations," the enumeration of the good wife's methods of insult—these are all in line with the Addisonian tradition. The first sentences of *The Tragedies of Shakespeare* might pass for a second version of the opening of *Meditations in Westminster Abbey*. "Taking a turn the other day in the Abbey, I was struck with the affected attitude of a

figure, which I do not remember to have seen before, and which upon examination proved to be a whole-length of the celebrated Mr. Garrick. Though I would not go so far with some good Catholics abroad as to shut players altogether out of consecrated ground, yet I own I was not a little scandalised at the introduction of theatrical airs and gestures into a place set apart to remind us of the saddest realities." Such seriousness of manner, such elegance, such genteel propriety is not the whimsical, idle, wise, sympathetic, old-world Lamb we know. Nor, for all its reminiscent air and beauty of pathos, is the straightforward, sustained prose of *Dream Children*. It was not natural for Lamb to write modern English. He knew it. Of Elia's essays he wrote, "Crude they are, I grant you—a sort of unlicked, incondite things—villainously pranked in an affected array of antique modes and phrases. They had not been *his*, if they had been other than such; and better it is, that a writer should be natural in a self-pleasing quaintness, than to affect a naturalness (so called) that should be strange to him." Lamb's most characteristic style is consciously composite. Like Spenser's, the language is "made." Flakes from the pre-Restoration prose writers are fitted side by side with racy colloquialisms into its ground and texture. But the event—the only criterion applicable to a "made" language—is peculiarly happy. It is expressive of the maker, having, like Sir Thomas Browne's, the reminiscent air of one communing idly with himself and letting his whimsies take their most natural expression, yet more familiar than Browne's, more conversational, more personal and heart-to-heart. It assumes the reader's pre-disposition to be charitable and friendly towards the writer, towards his friends and hobbies, towards his ways of thinking and looking at things, towards his "self-pleasing quaintness" which has become second nature to him. It artlessly addresses the reader, pokes fun at him, playfully nods to him as it indulges in a sly dig at Cousin Bridget, mystifies him—all on the assumption that he will never take in earnest what is meant

for innocent jest. And so it is intensely subjective: it takes captive the affections. It never talks "like a book," but familiarly; yet chimingly—the note taking tone from the passing mood or whim of Lamb himself, who, to be sure, did not believe in keeping up for long one way of looking at life, and could not have done so even if he did! Though never indulging in the machine-gun sentences of Hazlitt, it is, like Hazlitt's, "non-sequacious," scintillating, side-glancing, and in the manner of an interesting conversationalist avoids the veriest suspicion of closeness of argument, of strict sequence, of sustained rhetorical flight, of elaborate rhythmical harmony. And yet though you examine and duly appreciate every one of its myriad facets, you can only sense the heart of it. Dr. Saintsbury has said the final word: "The style of Lamb is as indefinable as it is inimitable, and his matter and method defy selection and specification as much as the flutterings of a butterfly." It is an infallible touchstone, but a bad model.

One feature of Lamb's style calls for more particular notice than it has generally received. It is its wonderful harmonisation of conflicting elements. De Quincey did not appreciate this. His general charge against the familiar essayists is one of lack of sequence, continuity, sustained rhythm. Referring, as may be supposed to essays of the class in which *New Year's Eve*[1] stands, he commends Lamb's poetical fancy but censures him for failing to use his opportunity. Instead of raising the lyrical tone with the advancement of the theme, he becomes whimsical, humorous, futile. De Quincey was an ingenious but scarcely a good critic. He indulged his own ideas too freely. He was certainly right in thinking that formal rhetoric and elaborate rhythms are desirable and even necessary on certain occasions. But the familiar essay is never one of these. He himself consciously donned singing robes in order to elaborate a prose-poem. And because his prose ideal was poles apart from

[1] Masson's Collected Writings, Vol V, p. 234.

that of the familiar essayist, he was blind to the unifying art underlying the seemingly impromptu, discursive style of Lamb.

Lamb admits that his essays are "crude, unlicked, incondite things." But at another place he insists upon the difficulty of his art. His essays, he says, were "futile efforts, wrung from him with slow pain." No wonder! Most of his essays are the result of careful manipulation—elaborate studies, not in mechanical construction, but in colour and tone effects. When he liked, as in *Roast Pig*, or even *Dream Children*—a phantasy without distraction or digression—, though his plays show him to be no "plotter," he makes it plain that he could write according to plan. More often, however, he undertakes within the short compass of his essay the more difficult task of blending different colours into one general atmospheric tone, of harmonising conflicting moods and diverse shades of character and behaviour. *How* he succeeds the critic is at a loss to tell: he can only record the fact. The spirit of harmony is sensed but "never catched, nice as an evanescent cloud, or the first arrests of sleep." Ainger calls *The Praise of Chimney-Sweepers* a study in black, *A Quakers' Meeting* a study in dove-colour. Even more wonderful is the essential unity of such an essay as *The Old Benchers of the Inner Temple*. Jewell of "the roguish eye" and "ever ready to be delivered of a jest"; "the pensive gentility of Samuel Salt...kindliest of human creatures"; Lovel, the "quick little fellow—of incorrigible and losing honesty"; Peter Pierson, "a benevolent, but not a prepossessing man"; Daines Barrington, an "oddity" who "walked burly and square"; Barton, "a jolly negation"; Read, "good-humoured and personable"; Twopenny, "thin, and felicitous in jests upon his own figure"; Wharry, "attenuated and fleeting" but "with no relish for a joke"; "the omniscient Jackson"; Mingay, "a blustering, loud-talking person" with an iron hand; Thomas Coventry, of "parsimonious habits," whose "house had the aspect of a strong box" —what a gallery! "They were coëvals, and had nothing but

that and their benchership in common." Yet who ever rose from *The Old Benchers* (post-script and all!) without a feeling of completeness as strong as that experienced when one lays down Chaucer's *Prologue*, "the best tale of all," or a perfect modern short story? With even more subtle play of light and colour in his prose, Lamb did in the Essay what Sterne had already done in the Novel. By blending and harmonising conflicting moods and shades of character, he made it possible for the reader, within a short, but "single and entire" piece of prose literature, to come into contact with many diverse personalities. If, as we suppose, the greatest work in creative literature is that which embraces scope with unity, Lamb though one of the most eccentric is also one of the greatest writers. His essays may be described in a phase of his own. They are "units in aggregate, simples in composite."

ARTHUR MOWAT

GRIEF

" Tis better to have loved and lost,
Than never to have loved at all."—*Tennyson.*

Perchance there's in this hamlet one blest heart,
Has had its storm-toss'd, twin-cloven night,
And breaks to morning glory at the dart
Of fiery Usha, at the shaft of Light;
And darkest doubts and fairest hopes are nought,
Deceiving spectres of a mocking dream;
And ghastliest fear and knightliest faith are caught
And swallowed up in Sorrow's holy Stream,
That bursts its banks, and with a gesture mad
Flings down the temples built to Pleasure by
Rich Youth, and kills the golden harvests glad
Of joy to leave before the dazzled eye
Stark devastation; yet in some dark nook
It leaves a treasure it has borne for long :
It may be that blest heart to-day will look
And find this heavenlier wealth of livelier Song,
The livelier Song of Love that pipes to Death
And conquers death, and thee, O fickle grief!
Who blowest hot and cold in every breath,
While binding mem'ry into bleeding sheaf.
As Ráti wooed young Mádán, so hast thou
Stripped bare for me thy ancient youth, thy dower
Of love, O sad-eyed Queen, and twined my brow
With myrtle, led me to thy rocky tower
That I may wed and dwell till death with thee,
And humour thee with madrigals that please
Thy love-lorn heart; then come away with me
Upon the chariot of this eastern breeze,

And be my bride, thou darkly dutiful!
Thy sorrow-linked smile, gloom-shadowed eyes,
Thy languorous form, thou sadly Beautiful!
Are charms wherein for me a magic lies.
Thy courting I accept; I will not foil
Thy mad adventure that defied grim Time;
Boyhood's Companion! Bride of Youth! thy toil
I shall repay with heart-outpouring rhyme!
Grief, sad-eyed, black-veiled, lightning-crowned queen,
Grief, mutely eloquent, sit here awhile;
My Uttarā, in wisdom's armour clean
And polish'd gird Abhimánu—and smile!
For, no heart-melting kiss, nor fond caress,
Love-claiming glance, nor complimenting phrase,
I ask O! Star-veiled queen! thy home-spun dress
Is earnest of a homelier wifely phase,
Then wipe away the ugly cob-webs spun
By Reason, sweep gloom's growing piles of dust,
Arrange hope's flowers, set right my house; this done,
Ring thou Love's ārti-bells that every gust
Of laughter fall upon its trembling knees
With thee adore the Lord: perchance, perchance,
I'll learn from thee, or from these widdowed bees,
To join that spirit's mystic marriage dance.
Then give me thy white winged foaming steed;
I follow Death to capture every fort
Of time, implant on earth's once Eden-mead
Ensign of Love, thy Sire, my King; escort
Some helpless widow with her orphaned child,
Some widowed hermit pining for his bride,
Thro' sorrow's rockiest, thorniest, ghastliest wild,
My darling Grief![1] unto that farther side!

CYRIL MODAK

[1] For the premature and sad demise of Srimati Devi Daisy Modak, within two years of married life—"Not dead but gone before."

POPULAR ELEMENTS IN THE PURĀṆAS

It will be acknowledged that the five topics (Pañca lakṣana) were at any rate the constituent and characteristic portions of the original Purāṇas ; and so the description of these five topics in present Purāṇas may most probably be taken as a criterion for judging the genuineness and antiquity of a Purāṇa. But the striking point which we cannot overlook is this that the present Purāṇas are not at all faithful with regard to the Pañca lakṣana ; though of course every Purāṇa admits it that the proper scope of a Purāṇa is to describe and elucidate them. To some of them, it can never be applied; to others it only partially applies. So it can reasonably be presumed that the original Purāṇas as time went on, departed from their ideal standard, and were open to and utilised for every sort of popular and intellectual investigation, as a result of which they swelled in bulk, assumed a miscellaneous nature and so out-stripped the main limits of the Purāṇa Pañca-lakṣana ; and it is in this stage that we find them at present. So besides the description of the five topics and often at the neglect of them many other subjects such as astronomy, geography, planetary, astrology, medicine, treatises on grammar, rhetoric, prosody; dissertations on archery, arms, politics, and regal administration, and also many other descriptions on the institutions of the Hindus, the duties of caste, the obligation of the different stages of life, the celebration of obsequial rites, etc., and also various other subjects of popular and folk interest were thrust into the Purāṇas by the Brahmanical Compilers, who wanted to make these books a sort of popular encyclopaedia (*cf.* Agni-Purāṇa) to satisfy folk curiosity in secular affairs; and at the same time to make these books a standard scripture of Neo-Hinduism or popular Hinduism to satisfy popular intellect in the domain of religion.

The question necessarily arises as to what was the relation of the Purāṇas with popular Hinduism. It is necessary therefore to give a clue to the origin of this new movement called the movement of neo- or popular Hinduism. Religion is the behaviour of man with respect to the natural forces and influences of this universe which he regards quite believingly as the expression and manifestation of sound supernatural being: and this in fact may be regarded as the key-note to the religious conception of the Vedic Aryans. It was an age when the people saw their deity in the rain, the cloud, the wind, the flowing stream whom they worshipped with simple portions of their daily meal, in return for which they prayed for material blessings. Gradually the Aryans separated into families and clans, and adopted family and tribal gods, in the worship of which was contained quite unconsciously the germs of monotheism, which being in the meanwhile blended with the idea of a supreme universal ruler, which grew up (*cf.* the list of kings styled as Cakravarti—Pargiter: Historical Tradition, p. 39) assumed a substantive conception. Thus in the Brahmanic age the worship of the monotheistic Brahma came into being in whom the monotheistic conceptions of the Vedic Aryans were amalgamated. But the idea of Brahma as being a mere abstract conception of the creator of the universe, the invisible soul, being divested of all human sympathies, and devoid of all human interest, could excite neither enthusiasm nor devotion, and so faded away. Precisely in such a moment Buddhism stepped in Sākyamuni the new prophet of Buddhism appeared as an embodiment of universal benevolence, deeply interested in the cause of humanity and thus supplied those human sympathies which were wanting in the worship of Brahma. Buddhism thus triumphed and broke down the Brahmanical monopoly. It was then that the Brahman's thought of recovering the masses back to the fold of Brahmanism. And in their endeavour to do so, they did not even refrain from Brahmanising the property of the

Kṣatriyas and calling in the aid of the previously human Kṣatriya heroes, who were imprinted by them not as human beings, but as emanations of deity; but at the same time retained absolutely human associations in them, so that the deities might stand more near to the people. The Brahmans, felt that some popular expansion of religious creed seemed essential to the very existence of Brahmanism and it became necessary to present the people with deities of their own not only as a counter-attraction to Buddhism but also for the accentuation of the faith of the people at large in the cause of the new religion. The Brahmans perceived that a link was wanting between the human and the divine; a deity incarnate in man, who was to be invested with sufficient humanity to sympathise with the sorrows and aspirations of human beings; and at the same time so nearly allied to the deity that he can mediate between the human race and the Almighty Father. So they freely introduced gods of a very popular type such as Kṛṣṇa and Mahādeva and recast them absolutely to a popular mould, so that the deity might stand nearer to the masses, and by admitting them, as well as numerous other deifications into the Hindu pantheon such as the God of love, of wealth, of war, of good luck, etc., under a variety of mythological interpretation secured the revival of Brahmanism. Roughly speaking, that was an event of the 4th century A.D., and the movement is called the movement of popular or Neo-Hinduism. It is called popular because the movement had to take into account very minutely the popular taste and aspirations, folk beliefs, manners and customs in order to achieve its success. It was precisely during this stage of religious transition that our modern Purāṇas were recast by the Brahmans for converting them into instruments for moulding the popular mind in the light of this new religion; and made the Purāṇas essentially, what we may call, the scriptures of this new religion.

Let us now see how the Purāṇas propagated this new religion by presenting to the people deities which were no doubt

declared as emanations of the deity, but at the same time imprinted absolutely human associations in them, so that they might more easily be conceived by the people at large. The story of Rāma which is to be found in almost all the Purāṇas, but specially in the Padma, Devī, Bhāgavata and Agni will beautifully illustrate the point. The main currents of the story as may be gathered by collecting the texts is given below.

Every scene is perfectly real. Rāma trying to put his toe into his month, Rāma laughing and strolling away; snatching a morsel out of his father's hand; pointing his eyes, mouth, ears when called upon to do so. Rāma crying for the moon, beginning to say 'father,' 'mother,' learning letters going to Pātsālā, invested with the sacred thread and then marriages. Such a downright realism of the God had the effect of shrivelling the deity more and more into mere ordinary mortal, with human instincts and passions, and no doubt the people got a more definite impression as to the actual reality of their deity. However, Rāma goes to exile and the abduction of his wife that followed and the subsequent bewails of Rāma for Sītā are scarcely compatible with his divine character, for there he appears little more than an ordinary mortal. Sītā is rescued and Rāma returns to Ayodhyā, but then again he is compelled to abandon his wife which more prominently brings out Rāma as an excellent type of man. His whole life has been a dedication for the sake of duty; should he neglect that in his after life? He dares not. But at the same time, he feels, he weeps, he laments for his abandoned wife, whom the cruel hand of destiny and duty has snatched away from his hand. This is the way in which the Purāṇas have sought to introduce Rāma into the Hindu pantheon, so that it might be easier for the people and folk at large to worship him and no doubt they have succeeded. Rāma has become a very popular God among the Hindus. He has become a family deity, the type of the husband, and master of the household—a serene and ideal figure,

whose story "has set up a temple of domestic virtues in every Hindu household."

In precisely the same way Kṛṣṇa who is another prominent God in the Hindu pantheon, has been treated in the Purāṇas. The biography of Kṛṣṇa is to be found in most of the Purāṇas specially in the Brahma, Harivaṁśa, Viṣṇu, Bhāgavata and Brahma-Vaivarta Purāṇas. The various texts collated seem to give out the following salient features of his early life. The little Kṛṣṇa attired in a yellow frock is the delight of his mother Yasodā. He stumbles about the courtyard, seizes the tail of the cows. As he grows old he seems to be imbued with a spirit of mischief. He spoils his mother's butter churn and steals the butter from the milkmaids and also enjoys their company by playing on his flute. Such a life was essentially realistic and allied to the folk environment. They found Kṛṣṇa wearing the same feathers as themselves and yet he was an incarnated God. The same silly graceful cowherd boy, who kissed the milkmaids and stole butter; appears as an universal lover, an incarnated God, in whose mouth the three worlds reside, and certainly it is because of this drastic human touch in him which has been imprinted by the Purāṇa compilers that Kṛṣṇa has found so loving a place in the hearts of the Hindus. Even to this day the artists exalt in picturing that black figure, standing with something of Hellenic grace and playing his flute on the banks of the Yamunā.

Similarly Śiva who is another prominent deity in the Hindu pantheon has been popularised in the Purāṇas. Śiva's biography is to be found in almost all the Śaiva Purāṇas, but the Skanda, Śiva, Matsya, Liṅga and Kālikā Purāṇas display great enthusiasm in the narration of Śiva's' life. There are of course various discrepancies in the details of the story, but the following version seems to stand after collating the various texts. As regards the origin of the God I shall not discuss here, but I will only endeavour to trace here the process by which the God has been shrivelled more and more absolutely to

popular type. The story of Śiva's marriage is tacked on with other stories, but we may fairly begin from the time of the birth of Menā fairly. As soon as Menā the daughter of Himavān was born, the compilers of the Purāṇas took the poetical license of declaring that the sky became clearer, the air became sweeter and the beasts become milder, etc. These extravagances of the poet's fancy were precisely designed to impress the greatness of the goddess just born more deeply upon the uncultured folk. However, the young girl begins to grow in years—her childhood is beautifully described. She plays, makes clay images, calls her dolls sons and daughters and gives them in marriage to the dolls of her other playmates. Such a scene is really drawn from the downright realism of Indian girlhood, where there is a regular craze for maternity in the mind of even a little girl of ten or eleven, who is looking forward to the day when she will be arrayed in jewels and fine clothes and will be given in marriage, and then after some years she will be dignified into the rank of maternity. No less interesting sidelights are given to the girlhood of Menā when she meets Nārada. The sage comes on a mission to Himavān's lodge, and finds the girl playing. The sage insists her to come to him, but she refuses, but when the sage tempts her with the promise of a doll she yields. It appears that such childish scenes were inserted by the Brahmanical compilers only to reproduce their heroine in a character more adapted to popular taste. But Nārada does not lose his mission. He points out to Himavān the growing years of Menā and that she should be given in marriage as early as possible. Then follow many puerile dialogues between Himavān and Nārada in which Himavān appears to have been greatly troubled over the marriage of his daughter. Their conversation centers round the point that the daughters are really burden to parents, that they are a source of constant trouble unless and until they are given in marriage, etc. It is really amusing to think that even Himavān was not free from the all-absorbing thought of giving his daughter in

marriage as much as the modern Indian Hindu gentlemen who have got daughters of marriageable age are. However Nārada suggests that Menā might be given in marriage to Śiva who is now deep in austerities. The proposal of course was heartily welcomed and it was agreed that Pārvatī should be sent to Śiva to serve him in every possible way. But the Gods finding it difficult for Pārvatī to win Śiva approached Indra, who however devised a plan and sent Madana to disturb Śiva's penance and to kindle in him a desire for Pārvatī, who was always attending Śiva. The scenes that followed are really wonderful products of Hindu imagination, whatever extravagances of poetical fancy they might contain. Like an unflickering light Śiva was buried in austerities and the beautiful and delicate Pārvatī was attending him in his front, though Śiva was unconscious of it, and Madana with his retinue arrived just at that moment. Taking his stand behind Śiva, he wounded Śiva by the arrow of desire and at once it had its desired effects—Śiva awoke from slumber and with a delightful laughter in his lips opened his eyes and viewed in front of him the sublime girl. Such a scene cannot but be striking to the popular mind, who found to their utter surprise that their God is also subject to a romance, and so there is mingled in the minds of the people a religious joy with a touch of romantic pleasure, but reaching such a point, their sincere joy is dashed to pieces, when in the next moment Śiva burnt up the God of love with the fire of his anger gushing forth from his third eye, and leaves the place, while the poor Pārvati though dissuaded by her parents goes to perform severe austerities for obtaining Śiva and earns the name of U-mā. No doubt it is a very nice and beautiful way, liable to excite pity and sympathy and love and admiration for Pārvatī, more deeply upon the folk mind and still to this day the artists exalt in picturing the divine lady arrayed in garments of bark, with her hair braided into a knot, and surrounded on all sides with dull water cold as death. Seeing this, the Gods led a deputation to Viṣṇu, who assured them that he

will try his utmost for inducing Śiva to marry. Viṣṇu went to Śiva and administered many sound advice regarding the practical utility of an worldly life. Śiva agreed on condition that she will put Pārvatī to a test and so in the disguise of a Brahmaṇa, went to Pārvatī where she was practising penance. He was of course offered due welcome, and on a conversation with Pārvatī the disguised Śiva learnt that she was practising penance to win Śiva, at which he expressed surprise and contempt and said, "that wretched man living in wretched asceticism depraved by a familiarity with the ashes and bones of the dead and every species of filth and corruption is your object"! This led her to rise in anger and order that the guest should be driven out; at which Śiva disclosed himself and Pārvatī blushed in delight and shame. Such a scene is precisely in accordance with folk taste, and the sincere folk will laugh all the more because the trickery was perpetrated by Śiva just as court flatterers will laugh at the blunt jest uttered by their king. Then follow the marriage scene in which Śiva appears absolutely as an ordinary man. Every minute detail of the preliminaries of the marriage seems to have been performed. The bride-elect was formally observed and the benediction ceremony or Mangalācarana as we call it was performed and the date when the marriage is to be held was also settled. The groom's party was preparing for the occasion but it was found that there was no such man who could become the head of the groom's party or Barakartā as we call it. Viṣṇu was requested and he accepted. In such an environment Śiva found himself absolutely a novice and the drastic touch of realism is reached, when we find Śiva addressing the invited guests assembled at his home, with folded hands, just like the present Hindus on such an occasion, and begging very modestly that he shall be highly obliged, if they excuse his shortcomings, at the arrangements made, and that he is very sorry because the meal just served probably will not satisfy their appetite, and

finally he concluded by requesting every one of the guests to be perfectly at home. Certainly these are mere inventions of a household Brāhmanical compiler who wanted to attribute everything domestic to the God Śiva. However, Śiva undergoes all preliminary rites of marriage and then the huge bridegroom party starts. There in Himavān's lodge a huge pandal was erected for receiving the guests and in fact Himavān received the groom's party with utmost domestic care. The marriage pandal is beautifully described. The guests were sitting attired in their best dress, the concert party was playing sweetly, the lights were flashing like a thousand suns, and it is said that even the Gods came down from Heaven to witness the ceremony and the marriage was performed strictly in accordance with Hindu marriage rites. The marriage finished, the party retired and the honeymoon period of the newly wedded pair is also told at great length in almost all the Purāṇas with extreme frivolousness and enthusiasm.

It need not be emphasised here how real the story has been and how deeply it is liable to impress the folk mind. The episode is really valuable as illustrating the care with which the Brāhmanical compilers have tended to degrade the deity into a mere ordinary mortal so that the deity might stand more near to the masses. Perhaps it is also a fact that without human love, human instincts and human passions, religion drifts into a mere bartering of prayers ; for the bulk of mankind can possibly have no real devotion, unless their affections are brought into display.

The God Viṣṇu who occupied a prominent position in the Hindu pantheon, has been similarly treated in the Purāṇas. In the Viṣṇukhaṇḍam of the Skaṇḍa Purāṇa, there is a similar story of Viṣṇu's marriage. The God falls in love with a beautiful lady called Padmini and it becomes mutual. The love growing vehement, the match was arranged. Viṣṇu dressed like a foppish *babu* started with a huge procession to

marry her in the month of Baiśākha,—garlands were exchanged; the marriage ceremony was duly performed and the frivolous poet also imagines the first night of the happy pair. Such are the stories of the two Gods—a startling proclivity of the Brāhmanical compilers who have palpably fabricated and to some extent invented them; only in order to reproduce the well-known Gods more adapted to popular and folk environment. But the more interesting part of the human features of the God Viṣṇu is to be found in the canto called Mārgaśīrṣamāsa-māhātmya of the second volume of the Skaṇḍa Purāṇa. In Chapter 5 is given a long sermon by Viṣṇu himself as to the ever recurring happiness and blessedness of earthly possessions and heavenly joys as a reward for him, who will make him bathe either by milk or by clarified butter or by water in the month of Agrahāyaṇa. In the next chapter the God himself says that he is highly pleased if some one sounds the bell before him and more particularly if one does so at the time of his going to bed and lulls him to sleep. It is further said that he feels himself highly delighted if some one paints his body with sandal oil mixed with *aguru* and *karpura*. The God also gives a detailed list of the flowers he likes best and wishes that he should be garlanded every day. Burning of incense and lighting of light (ārati) is also appreciated by him.

But of all these it seems that the God loves a rich dish most. The God describes elaborately the sort of dish he likes best. The *Bhoga* as it is called is to be given in a golden plate; the rice is to be prepared from the finest corn the curry and dāl is to be prepared with utmost caution and with the best ghee of cow available in the market; fried things are to be prepared only with ghee and not with oil, and other sweetmeats of diverse character are also mentioned which are to be prepared with precious commodities, and in all there should be twenty items, and it is concluded by saying that the enjoyment of the heavenly bliss of the donor will depend on the kind of dish he prepares

for the God. After a considerable time supposing that his meal is finished, he is to be given fine transparent water for washing his face and a small pointed and narrow caṇḍana stick to poke his teeth. Then a fine bed is to be prepared and the mosquito-curtain is to be hung and the God is to be laid down in bed and lulled to sleep by the ringing of bells.

What all these childish incongruities mean? It is really amusing to see that these uneducated temple priests who perhaps compiled the Purāṇas spared no effort to create a man of flesh and blood in these divine figures, and sometimes they have even carried it to a ridiculous excess. Indeed the low and foolish character of many of the modern temple ceremonies is disgusting. The burning of incense and the waving of lights (ārati) are the only acts of sublime and pure character. The rest consists in treating the symbol or image as if it were an honoured living man capable of enjoying the highest sort of physical pleasure. The God is awakened, bathed and put to bed at the appointed hours, meals are served to it very regularly at the usual hours, and in fact it receives various other pompous ceremonies.

In this way the worship of Śiva and Viṣṇu with absolute human touch in them was established definitely on the soil of India. But subsequently the ardent devotion of the followers of Śiva and Viṣṇu to their respective Gods, led to the ascription of the attributes of the one all-powerful universal God to both Śiva and Viṣṇu and this growing mutual pantheism of the two Gods led to a clash for supremacy between them, which is called sectarianism and this sectarianism has been to a great extent propounded by the Purāṇas. It is quite easy to understand how sectarianism is likely to be welcomed by the people at large. The people were pleased to think that their Gods feel and act exactly like themselves, and it is natural therefore that popular mind will find further satisfaction and will have a more definite impression as to the actual reality of their Gods if they see that their Gods fight exactly like themselves for power and

position; and as the Purāṇas were in the hands of these uneducated temple priests who also advocated sectarian worship of the one or the other God, converted these ancient scriptures into instruments for describing the triumph of the one or the other deity according as they chose. The story of Dakṣa's sacrifice will beautifully illustrate this point. I need not go into the details of the story which is well-known, except that Śiva in anger produced from his mouth a divine being with thousand heads, thousand eyes, wielding a thousand clubs, etc., called Bîrabhadra who proceeded to destroy Dakṣa's sacrifice, in which Śiva was not invited; for Dakṣa hated Śiva and worshipped Viṣṇu. However Bîrabhadra reached the sacrificial ground, devoured, defiled and scattered all the articles of food. Then falling upon the hosts of the Gods, beat them, insulted the nymphs and the yajña was decapitated. The Bhāgavata-Purāṇa gives a more amusing description. Indra was given a blow and was trampled, Yama's staff was broken off; Sarasvatī's nose was cut off; Puṣana's teeth were knocked down, Vahni's legs were cut off, Bhṛgu's beard was torn off, the Prajāpatis were beaten, and the rest of the Gods fled away and Dakṣa's head was of course cut off. Thus the sacrifice was spoiled and the triumph of Śiva was declared. Meanwhile Śiva came and restored Dakṣa to life, but it is said, that as the head was not coming off it was replaced by that of a goat. The Skaṇḍa Purāṇa, which is a Śaiva Purāṇa, further says that even Viṣṇu was defeated and was caught hold of by Bîrabhadra and would have been killed had not an oracle intervened. But Harivaṁśa which is a Vaiṣṇava-Purāṇa says, that in the contest that followed Viṣṇu took Śiva by throat and nearly strangled him to death and that this throttling is responsible for the blackness of Śiva neck and not his swallowing of the poison which arose from the churning of the ocean. Such is the story—a crowning piece of childishness, betraying the almost blind and frantic effort of the Brahmanical compilers to extol sectarian worship and to place the Gods on almost the

same footing with ordinary man. Such fantastic incidents were really a strange fascination for the ignorant folk who were actually excited to feel a stern reality of their Gods, whom they found fighting exactly like themselves.

I will now cite simply two stories in brief which were certainly a palpable invention of the temple priests precisely in accordance with the latitude of popular credulity illustrating the devotional extravagance involved in the worship of Śiva and Viṣṇu. The two stories will be taken from the Skaṇḍa and the Nāradīya Purāṇa—both are essentially sectarian compilations. The wearisome string of senseless stories and extravagant tales which they have inserted beautifully illustrate the clever plan by which the Brahmans sought to impress into the minds of the credulous folk a strong devotion for the worship of either of these two Gods. Thus the Skaṇḍa Purāṇa says that a Śabara named Candaka was an ardent devotee of Śiva, who always used to worship him with offerings of flowers and ashes. His wife was also a faithful worshipper of Śiva. One day while about to worship the God, the Śabara found that the ashes were missing from his pot and so he became extremely dejected as the daily worship was to be postponed. The wife then suggested that she is ready to burn herself into ashes, by which he might perform the daily pujā. The Śabara though he made a feeble protest was however glad to find such a strong devotion in her and agreed. The wife burnt herself into ashes and the Śabara performed the pujā with that, but opening his eyes after the pujā he found to his utter surprise that the wife is standing by his side absolutely unharmed—all through the grace of Śiva. The story in the Nāradīya-Purāṇa runs thus. Mohinī, an extremely beautiful lady, beguiles a king. The king offers to perform for her whatever she may desire. She calls upon him either to violate the rule of fasting on the 11th day of the fortnight—a day sacred to Viṣṇu—or to put his son to death. Now the king happened to be an ardent devotee of Viṣṇu and so he kills his son as the lesser sin of the two, though of course

Viṣṇu is obliged to come and make his son live again. The stories are certainly extravagant, but though extravagant it cannot be denied that these are the very type of stories, which were absolutely necessary for rousing firm devotion or Bhakti in the minds of the ignorant folk and the tangible proof of how far the devotion towards the two Gods has been roused is reflected in the numerous temples of Śiva and Viśṇu that lie scattered throughout the whole of India.

But with all these the religious instinct of a superstitious and hence weak folk-mind remains but unsatisfied, unless and until it finds that the different spheres and aspects of life are being guided and controlled by different deities. So there arose a number of other deities in the Hindu pantheon under a variety of mythological explanation each of which of course having its own part[illegible]enefit to confer. The Purāṇas had to take into account th[illegible]liar folk instinct, and so they freely introduced gods and goddesses of different types. Thus Sarasvati became the goddess of learning, Lakśmī that of wealth, Ganesa became the giver of victory ; Kārttika became the God of War, Kuvera God of wealth ; Śani that of bad fortune, etc , and many other inferior deities whom the Hindus reckon up to the astounding total of three hundred and thirty millions ; and in fact very elaborate directions as to how their images are to be constructed and how and on what way they are to be worshipped are given in many of the Purāṇas specially in the Agni and Matsya. Alongside with the currency of such new Gods and Goddesses the Purāṇas also introduced various other *vratas* and occasional religious observances which were enjoined to be performed by every Hindu and the Matsya Purāṇa specially gives a list of seventy such *vratas*. These *vratas* if performed according to the directions given, were of course declared as extremely efficacious ; and it is but natural to suppose that the popular mind being tempted by the prospect of a very sudden and immediate gain subservient upon the performance of such *vratas* will welcome them heartily ; and the result is that at present

the life of an orthodox Hindoo is surrounded on all sides by a network of these *vratas* and pujās and also by an obstinate band of idolatry which combined together are perhaps working nemesis in the present Hindu society.

But here too the Purāṇic compilers did not stop. They also recommended other objects of worship, which precisely belong to the domain of folk culture. They knew it perfectly well that the idolatrous religion which they have propounded was essentially based on self-interest and fear. And actually in the eyes of a superstitious and ignorant folk like the Hindu anything that can be useful to him was thought to be worthy of being worshipped and this feeling is much stronger in him with regard to anything that can harm him. The folk mind appears to have been firmly convinced that as all living creatures are either useful or [redacted] to man, it is better to worship them all, paying them [redacted] less attention in proportion to the advantages they offer or the fear they excite. It is exactly in accordance with such folk instincts that the Purāṇas introduced animal worship (some of these worships might be prevalent in the pre-Purāṇic period but the circumstances which gave rise to such worships are everywhere the same—namely the weakness of a superstitious people). They found the bull useful and so invented a sacredness for it and then deified it and subsequently advocated its worship, and in this way various other animal, partly owing to their invented sacred connections with one deity or the other and partly to their usefulness were thrust into the Hindu pantheon by the Purāṇas. Snakes are the most dangerous animals which infest India and are most dreaded and so their worship was advocated by the Purāṇas. Monkey is to be worshipped perhaps because its thievish and destructive propensities are sufficient to demand such a homage while the huge bird Garuḍa is also to be worshipped perhaps because of its quavering and shrill cry and apparently strong vigour, though of course in both cases some sacred connections were invented and

in this way other dangerous beasts were recommended to be propitiated in order to secure safety. The same spirit of the superstitious and ignorant folk which the Puraṇic compilers so easily realised made them feel it necessary to introduce the worship of the malicious spirits called Ghosts, to whom the people must offer prayers and sacrifices by way of propitiation and thus Ghost worship was introduced. Anything presenting an unusual appearance was thought to be the abode of ghost and so to be worshipped. Thus the Agni Purāṇa elaborately describes the process of worshipping ghosts at which it is assured, that tranquillity will reside in the family. But there are absolutely no limits to the follies of idolatry and even trees and plants were not spared by the pagan folk for some reasons or other, while others were even thought as sacred, such as Kuśa, Śāba, Nim, Baṭa, Bela, and many chapters of the Skaṇḍa, Matsya, Agni, and other Purāṇas are devoted in giving directions for the worship of these dull and inanimate things. It is really painful to see that, man, who is superior to all other created beings, so forgets his inherent superiority, as to dare to bow the knee to animals and trees. Such childish and shameful forgetfulness of the superiority of man over all other created beings, which the Purāṇas acknowledged certainly originated not from any accepted doctrine of the Hindu religion, but from the most irreconcilable superstitions and almost barbarous instincts of the folk-mind which the compilers of the Purāṇas had to take into account in order to ensure the success of the movement called Neo-Hinduism they have launched. And to the effect they also added others.

The newly built house was to be worshipped before entering it, otherwise the God supposed to be presiding over the house might bring disaster. The newly dug tank was to be worshipped before bathing or using it in any other way; otherwise the *jala devatā* or the God of water will be displeased and as such might bring ruin. The rice and curry just served for meal is to be first saluted before taking. Before wearing

a new cloth, a thread of the new cloth is to be divided into four pieces and should be given in honour of four dangerous elements such as fire, water, washerman, etc.; so that they might not destroy the newly-worn cloth. Again, one particle of the would-be cooked curry (say a piece of potato) is to be first given to the fire; so that the Fire God might not spoil the curry. All these traces of fetish worship were introduced only to satisfy an uncultured folk, and how enthusiastically these have been advocated might be discerned specially in the Agni and Matsya Purāṇas. And how strongly these have found reception in the popular mind is evident from this that even to the present day these relics of totemism exist. We find that the sailor worships his boat before floating it; the carpenter worships his tools before using them; the student bows down to his books, before beginning to read them and similarly the housewife to her pottery, the shopkeeper to his weighing scale, and even the Muhammadan coachman of India bows down to his carriage before driving it. No doubt these have their root in the fetish worship which was propounded by the Purāṇas, for giving every possible scope for satisfying the rude superstitious instincts of the ignorant masses.

But yet the list is not exhaustive. An idolatrous people like the Hindus will quite honestly believe in any and everything if it is enforced with the weight of the Sāstras, and the Brahmans who were also trying to feed upon the credulity of the rustic folk introduced many other things of a monstrous character. Thus many of the Purāṇas repeat some mantras which were declared as extremely effective in compelling one's own unruly wife to submit, as well as the devoted wife of others, if recited in the name of some particular God. They were also effective in achieving one's own secret desire and in killing one's enemy simply by recital and also other sorts of charms, amulets, spells, and magic mantras were laid down—all for the sake of some nefarious ends But this is not all. Quick to recognise the special predilections

of their fellow countrymen—these uncultured temple priests knew that anything which will give scope for satisfying the superstitious propensities of these folk will please them ; and so they have omitted no opportunity in the Purāṇas to exploit to their advantage, the sincere but foolish credulity of these folk. Thus a dream might be declared good or bad by a Brahman, according as the contents appear, and if it appeared bad according to the accepted standard, then the poor man who dreamt such a dream was obliged by the Śāstras (Purāṇas) to pay a heavy penalty in the shape of feeding the Brahmans by performing a pujā in order to avoid the ominous consequences of such a dream. There were again other signs which were declared as extremely ominous and the man who happened to fall a victim to such signs, was considered to have been almost reserved by the God of death for his immediate prey. Such chapters called Mṛtyulakṣaṇanirupaṇa are to be found in most of the Purāṇas. To take an example the Skaṇḍa, Matsya and Agni Purāṇas says that if a man fails to see his shadow in oil or water, or if a man after taking his bath finds that the water of his body has been dried up instantaneously ; or if a man fails to perceive the pointed part of his nose then he is sure to die within that very day and we are told that these signs have been experimented in the case of many Gods. Superstitious people are generally weak. It was a thousand times criminal therefore on the part of these hypocritical Brahmans to create such a horror of his alleged future death; and if perchance one falls a victim to such deadly signs, and if some remedial ceremonies are suggested by the Brahmans (in the Purāṇas) by performing which such alleged inevitable cruel fate can be averted, it is but natural to suppose that the panic-stricken sincere folk who fall a victim to such signs, and his loving wife who, standing on the threshold of a grim widowhood, will run the risk of losing all his wealth and property to satisfy a Brahman and to perform a pujā and as such to avoid the ominous consequences

thereof, and in fact such remedial ceremonies are mentioned in the Purāṇas. Again if a vulture sits on the roof of a house it was declared as possibly ominous and unless and until some propitiation ceremonies are performed the members of that house, it was declared, stand at the prospect of immediate death. Similarly if an owl wails in a plaintive way, a crow groans and other birds make nasty sounds at the dead of night near a house, the inhabitants, it is said, are approaching death which however can be averted by performing some ceremonies. Besides these other signs were also declared as ominous when starting for a journey (Yātrālakṣana nīrupaṇa) such as if a jackal wails 5 or 7 times, if a peacock cries on the left, and if a deer is to be seen on the left, etc. Almost all the Purāṇas are replete with a list of such ominous signs; their attending consequences, and the remedial ceremonies.

In this way the Purāṇas have satisfied folk instinct only to enlist the sympathy of the masses in the cause of this new religion. It is apparent therefore that such popular element in the domain of religion, society and life, which the Purāṇas have incorporated engross a considerable section of this vast body of literature. But the result is that, such inroads of superstitious beliefs and practices as propounded by the Purānas in the minds of a necessarily weak and credulous folk degraded and perverted the main principles of religion, and the long chain of the extravagant absurdities of superstition, which thus encircled the already idolatrous Hindu society, furthermore strengthened the pretensions of the avaricious Brahmans, who thus taking advantage of the ignorance and weakness of the people at large, further introduced various other dogmas and systems. And what the effect of all these has been upon the present Hindus—one need only turn to the religious practices and temple ceremonies of South India, where (of course the present condition show considerable improvement) it is no longer the question of paying homage and worship to Śiva and Viṣṇu. But there it is a question of how these licentious

temple priests are profiting sexually by the stupid credulity of the woman who believes that the God is capable of dispelling their barrenness, and materially by the offering of wealth and riches by the almost fanatically credulous folk who believes that they please the God. This is in fact the nemesis of popular element as contained in the Purāṇas.

SASHI BHUSAN CHOUDHURI

SHIELD'S OTHER SIDE

I

When evils I in brothers see
I feel but pity's love.
When evils same appear in me
I burn below, above.
Then on my heart I feel the stride
I'm sure not love's, but of dark pride.
When what in brothers I condemn
So sudd'n me assail
To grovel for some false excuse
My mind can never fail.
O, clear my mind and make me see
All—all are one in Love of Thee ;
All evils in my heart and mind
Alone in brothers I can find.

II

When I'm in pain in evil's jaw
May all against me bear !
And may I live in lonely pain?
For all be I a scare !
O, How may I for mercy pray ?
All bitter and sweet Thy mercy's sway
Thy mercy ask'd—I am accurst,
Forgetful mercy's self Thou art !
Thy boundless love, sink I to find
Within the prison of creature's mind !
Can son Begetter's father be?
Can mother's birth her baby see?
What's good for me Thou knowest best
May prayer's pride in Thee find rest !

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

THE BROKEN LYRE

A Phantasy Story.

It was long ago—so long ago that many people do not remember when it was that the tragedy of the Lady Pickuly's life occurred. But they know that it was in Italy that the Lady Pickuly and her boy cousin were brought up—the green and gold Italy with the stainless blue skies, which make one think of a pure and chaste virgin, the Italy of the lovely women and the handsome men, chivalrous and brave. Though Pickuly did not actually live with her boy cousin, yet she came in contact with him every day of her child life. Pickuly was for ever in awe of her wild and impulsive cousin, and the boy, with the intuition of a man, always tyrannised over his gentle and passive playfellow. To these two souls who were growing up and seeing new things with every new sunrise, this child life to them was perfect with its novelties, its incomprehensible vicissitudes and vagaries. They grew up in play and in love. They grew up in petty quarrels and in repentance. They grew up in the garden amidst the choking perfumes and the loveliness of the flowers and thus they came face to face with Beauty, which is God; and the passionately coloured flowers, richly perfumed, were to the children something more vital than life itself. The flowers were mute beings, who understood the children perfectly and yet could find no tongue with which to speak to them. And as the children played in the garden, they would often touch and stroke and caress each velvet petal of a flower and prodigally intoxicate themselves with the heaviness of the perfumes. Sometimes, when the impulsive nature of Pickuly's cousin would flare up, then he would rush to the roses, roses red and yellow, white and pale pink, and he would tear the petals, the silky, soft petals, as if he were tearing at the issues of a human body, and then he would bury his head deep, into the perfumed heap and lie on the lawns, head sunk down on the cushions of the rose petals. He would vent his anger

on the roses, his friends, for he would say that he could not attack Pickuly with his pent up impulsiveness, and after hurting the flowers, he would weep and the ruined petals would be wet with secret tears. And sometimes the boy would deliberately pluck the lilies—pure white lilies and weave them into a coronet and he would place it on the brow of Pickuly. When the girl was thus crowned with lilies, she would look at the flowers, and the trees with exaltation, as if she were their queen, and those beauteous beings with the lovely colours, delicate shapes, and rich perfumes, were her own subjects. Then she would wistfully look at her cousin, and her dark brown eyes, with those soft, long lashes, would understand his idolatrous looks.

" You have hurt the lilies," she would say as if she were displeased with the crown, which was set upon her head.

" Are the lilies more precious than Pickuly? And what are all the roses even compared to you?"

That would be the hour of triumph for Pickuly, for she was a woman, and longed to be praised and flattered. But the words that came from out the mouth of her boy cousin, came from the depths of his very soul, and so they were sincere.

And very often, while the children were thus at play, the boy would turn his gaze at the girl and look at her as if he were idolising something divine, and spake to her :

" When we grow up, we shall get married."

And the girl, with her capricious nature, for she was a woman, and she changed her nature as she changed the colours of her dress, and so sometimes she would say :

" I cannot marry such as you. You frighten me and you hurt the flowers." Then the boy would be silent, for her words would strike him like the blows of some mighty pillars.

When Pickuly and her cousin were no longer children, they separated. For the first time they sank in pain at the separation. Pickuly's toys were isolated and she did not play any longer, for her comrade was absent. She would move about silently and every little nook and corner brought back her cousin to mind. She

would move like a frightened little phantom, vague and listless. And she would move about the flowers, in the garden, and pluck the lilies which her comrade had once plucked, and she would weave crowns and be the Queen of the Flowers over again. It was at this period that Pickuly knew what it was to be lonely.

Her cousin was sent far away from the home of childhood. He was growing up to be a man, and must learn to seek his vocation. And he chose his vocation. He was an artist, born and and bred. And thus he created characters and he created places, and he imagined incidents, and he weaved words—words, lovely and delicate into chains that sounded music,—and the rhythm of his composed words delighted him. This little, old, young man, was like a god, for as a god creates people of various natures, so did he. He lived in his own world, and for his own art. While his people, far away at home, thought that the boy was doing good commercially and would come back laden with merchandise, and rare Eastern treasures and spices, the boy was doing good mentally and when he returned home, he came back laden with the rare treasures of his talent and imagination. He took interest in things which very few people ever looked at. He sought beauty and when he found her in her ever changing colours and moods, he worshipped her as he worshipped Pickuly. He ever sought the flowers and he ever was in search of trees and mountains and he loved everything that was pregnant with beauty, be it a string of pearls or a carpet of Persia. His parents, mediocre rigid people, with prosaic precepts of life, as was natural, did not comprehend their son. To them he was a mad man, a failure, a poor specimen of humanity. They could hardly believe he was their own child, their own progeny, so changed was he with his travels. They thought he had brought home rubbish instead of tangible treasures, and that he was imbibed with foreign ideas. And so, as often happens, the boy's own parents did not understand the genius of their child. People had looked forward to seeing the boy returned into a wealthy merchant, but he returned to his home just as he had gone—he returned a Student. So he

was known to the world around him as the Student for he was always seen with books in his hands, or a paper on which he wrote down his thoughts. "Learning has unhinged and turned his mind." This was the opinion of the neighbours about the Student.

The Student had left Pickuly a little girl and he returned to find her blossoming out into a woman of loveliness. Her little rounded figure was beautifully sculptured, perfect in its formation, rhythmic in naturalness. Her skin, a soft white, went well with the darkness of her brown hair and her eyes. But just as Pickuly had changed in her form and features so did she change in her ideas and the outlook on life. She was no longer the child that sought beauty in Nature, nor the child with the poetic ideas. She was turned mercenary, loving to touch that which glittered most or that which had the greatest worldly value. She no longer pined for the companionship of her boy cousin, whom she thought a lunatic. The Student was amazed with her beauty but he was equally surprised by her new ideas and her grand manners. He knew his society was not wanted and so he turned to better but mute friends, friends with character books. And no longer did Pickuly visit her beauteous subjects, the flowers, and no longer did she crown her head with lilies. She looked up on that part of her life with something akin to shame and almost blushed when she thought of her play-day with the Student. When the Student was far away from home, Pickuly lost her mother, and so with the death of this lady, went the last chance of a union with Pickuly. The student had lost his best friend, a friend who understood him.

All fair Florence was cognisant of Pickuly's beauty. There were poets who wrote sonnets on her, strolling players who sang of her, playwrights and authors who wrote of her, artists and sculptors, who reproduced her loveliness sincerely on the canvas and on the marble. She was said to be all Florence's most beautiful lady and there were men who attempted much to catch a glimpse, even a passing glimpse of the Lady Pickuly. And there were men who would have given everything they possessed for a

dance with Pickuly or a conversation with her. She danced beautifully, she danced like a dainty fairy, all bedecked with beauteous silks and lovely jewels. She danced like an ethereal being, who had come for a short time, amidst tangible surroundings and human beings. All eyes used to be turned to Pickuly when she entered a ballroom, leaning on her father's arm. Men went mad over her beauty and women rustled uncomfortably in their silks because they hated Pickuly for being so beautiful. At about this time, Lorenzo, a very rich and famous Tuscan merchant, heard of the loveliness of the Lady Pickuly. He saw her at a ball where she dazzled most amidst all the lovely women and the attractive men. He saw her glide in the room, a vision of beauty, dressed all in a pale pink Florentine dress. Her head was bound with a net of gold sown with pearls. Lorenzo, like the other men, was bewitched by her beauty and vowed to make her his bride. Though Lorenzo was an aged man and had not prepossessing physique, yet Pickuly was attracted by him, for he was reputed to be so rich. Lorenzo stayed longer at Florence than was anticipated for he had come to woo the most beautiful lady, and the city knew that he was wooing the Lady Pickuly.

The Student, surrounded by his books, was feeling that he was now for ever losing his old playmate. He was no longer received by Pickuly—she was always bored by him. In appearance, the Student was more favourable than the aged merchant. He was young and he was like an anointed Greek boy. His dark, soft brown skin, and his coal black eyes, and hair, were fascinating. And he had all the impetuousness and the fiery passions of youth but he had no wealth. His wealth lay in his ideas, his books, his writings, but they did not attract Pickuly. She scorned them and thought it was most presumptuous of a student to court a beautiful and wealthy lady. But the Student had hopes. He thought he would rekindle the poetic nature of Pickuly and thus she might once again seek beauty and worship her when she came face to face with the deity. Thus he wrote sonnets to Pickuly, and one night, he crossed the sleeping streets of Florence and rapidly glided like a ghoul, in the shadows, towards

Pickuly's mansions. In the stillness of the far advanced night, he sang his sonnets, to the accompaniment of a stringed instrument. And as he sang his serenade he glanced up to the window of Pickuly's chamber, and saw there, a figure, clad all in white, moving vaguely, towards the sill. The Student's voice was rich and young, it was like a reverie.

The betrothal of Pickuly to Lorenzo was announced and all Florence received it with satisfaction. The most beautiful lady of the city had found a fitting mate. On the vigil of the nuptials the Student determined to sing one of his poems, for the last time, beneath the window of the woman he worshipped. But he sat in his room, in despair, for his voice was hoarse and cracked. He wept for he could not sing as he so much wanted to do. But as he was weeping, something stirred on the window sill and he saw a bird of a rich plumage and fine shape. It was a nightingale. The Student was a great friend of the birds, who all loved him, for he fed them with bread-crumbs, and he sought them as anxiously and feverishly as he sought Beauty in all her various forms. The nightingale was sick at heart to see the despair of her friend and asked him what ailed him.

"My voice has failed me. It is hoarse and cracked and I wanted to sing one of my sonnets for the last time to a woman I love. She weds another man to-morrow."

"Lessen your despair, Student," said the nightingale, "I have a plan. You shall prick me with a thorn in my throat and you shall drink my blood as it will trickle down. Then your voice will return to you and you will sing as you have never done so before."

"But, oh lovely bird! your blood will be your life's very blood and you will die."

"No matter, do as I bid you."

So the Student pricked the lovely, soft, throat of the nightingale and drank in the blood as it trickled down.

"I will wait for you here," said the nightingale.

The Student went forth into the night. His voice was rich and healthy and he sang for the last time beneath Pickuly's

windows as he had never done before. All the time he was gazing at her window but not a shadow moved. Her windows were empty. Broken-hearted, the Student returned home, and on the floor, he found the cramped, paralysed, little, plumed figure of the nightingale, who lay there dead.

Lorenzo took his lovely bride away to his Tuscan home. Scandal said that he was licentious and very soon he tired of Pickuly and sought the love of other women. When the news reached Florence of the Lady Pickuly's unhappiness, the Student was maddened with despair and wrath at the old merchant for scorning his lovely wife. He set out to have just a glimpse of the old playfellow, and when he arrived in Tuscany, at the lordly mansion of the merchant prince, in doubt he stood at the big gates. He did not attempt to venture further. He loathed to see Pickuly in her unhappiness but then he kept repeating to himself that it was his duty to do so, if only for once. This time Pickuly received him. She was lonely and in her misery she longed for the child-life once again, to play with her boy cousin. Sorrow had aged her considerably. She saw the Student in the garden.

"Do you remember the days when you plucked the rose-petals? And do you remember how you made crowns of lilies for me?" And she looked wistfully and sadly at the Student. Then only did she comprehend how much happiness she had thrown away. But now she valued her old playmate. The Student kissed her on the mouth. His kiss was pure, and he kissed her like a brother kissing his sister.

"It is too late, too late now—too late!" The Student kept on repeating.

Lorenzo had left Tuscany and his wife behind him and had gone to lands far away and across the seas.

The last impression of the Student of Pickuly was that he saw a small figure clad all in white, sitting on a garden seat and caressing a rose that lay in her hands.

He went back to Florence but he did not write any more poetry. Then he wandered about much, and people saw an old

man, limping slowly, with a bent back, and a tired walk. This old man was always seen in very old clothes and his grey long beard gave him the air of a religious mendicant. He walked over the hills and down the dales and far away into strange lands and many people thought he was a mad man. This was so because they did not know the tragedy of his life. The old man was the Student. He was the broken lyre.

ADI K. SETT

TWO SAVANTS

Two great Oriental scholars of Germany have passed away—Alfred Hillebrandt of Breslau and Karl F. Geldner of Marburg. I had the good fortune of personal contact with them both and these few lines are a small tribute to their memory.

In April, 1912, I first met Hillebrandt at the Orientalist Congress at Athens. I was then working on the *Arthaśāstra* in which he too had done some very important pioneer work. I requested him to allow me to meet him at Breslau some time in summer to which he very readily consented. Accordingly I went to Breslau in the first week of August, 1912, and spent a very useful week with him. A shortish stout man, who was the embodiment of strength and mental alertness—such was my first impression of him at Athens, and it was confirmed by this week's work at Breslau. Only a week, but what a week! The eagerness he showed in my work was much more than I showed in his. All his vast knowledge he put ungrudgingly before me. Would that I had been better able to appreciate his deep learning and his original thought. His knowledge of Vedic lore—of Vedic manners and customs, of magic and sacrifice was profound, and for many a year to come his will be the authoritative word on this subject. As a teacher he was eager and by his eagerness made his pupil forget the immense gulf that lay between the two. And what I treasure most was his loving memory. More than ten years later I sent to him one of my efforts. His answer was full of pleasure and encouragement. Not only had he had a vivid recollection of me but he even remembered another Indian student who was merely touring over Germany in my company. Since then he resumed his relations as a teacher and friend with me. And his frequent letters of encouragement and help are among my cherished remembrances. He has done his work and his memory will live with his pupils as it will with me.

Karl F. Geldner, who died only two months ago, was also one of the very great teachers of Germany. I had spent but

twelve hours with him but the impression he made was deep. *He could inspire*—that was his secret. It was also in 1912 that I first met him for the first and only time in life. I had written to give him the time of my arrival at Marburg and when the train stopped at the station early in the morning, I found the Professor himself walking up to me and greeting me. I had intended to just pay him a call and talk for about an hour or so and then to see the town and take the night train. But I being a Zoroastrian the Professor needs must insist on taking me home and being my guide throughout the day. At his home I found a warm welcome from his charming wife and his little daughter (she was quite a mite then and he was very proud of her) became friends with me quite as if she had known me always. After resting a bit the Professor became my guide through the beautiful town of Marburg (one of the most charming University-towns of Germany) and showed me all the sights and enlarged pleasantly on the history of the various buildings we saw. And he talked about his own work in the University. He told me how every year he had a course of lectures on the history and literature of India at which he used to get quite 300 interested students. I do not wonder at his drawing so many students, for he was a charming talker and clear expounder. Then followed a few very happy hours in the Professor's library talking over learned matters. It was there I received the inspiration of my life. For without exaggeration I may say that it was Geldner that inspired me to devote myself to the study of my own religion and of Iran. He talked of his own work, of all his enthusiasm for the part of India and of Iran and yet so simply and naturally did the words well up from his heart that the impression I received that day has never been effaced. I felt then as I feel now, that this was a true devoted votary of learning and of learning alone—a true worshipper of *Sarasvati*. I felt that a life like his alone could be called a dedicated life. Though I never attended but a single lecture of his it was on that day that I accepted him in my heart as a *Guru*, and I have never failed to get his blessings and his inspiration. His work has been great—very great. His *magnum opus* is the edition of the Avesta

texts. And another great work of his is the translation of the *Rig-Veda*. This last, we heard, was finished just before he passed away. If he had not written a line beyond these two, even then his position in the very first rank of Oriental scholars would have been assured. Only last December we, his pupils and admirers, celebrated his 75th birthday by presenting him with an address on the occasion. Now his task is over and he has gone forward to his rest. But his grand work remains as a great monument, and best of all, he lives in the hearts of all whom he has taught as an ideal teacher—a teacher who truly uplifts and inspires.

I. J. S. TARAPOREWALA

THE PHILOSOPHY OF SHELLEY

Longer Poems.

When Joseph Gerrald, Holcroft's friend and an associate of Godwin, was sentenced for high treason he uttered from the prisoner's dock soul-stirring courageous words of a martyr to political freedom, saying that "Moral light is as irresistible by the mind as physical by the eye. All attempts to impede its progress are vain. It will roll rapidly along, and as well may tyrants imagine that by placing their feet upon the earth they can stop its diurnal motion, as that they shall be able by efforts the most virulent and pertinacious to extinguish the light of reason and philosophy, which happily for mankind is everywhere spreading around us."[1] "It was," says Mr. Brailsford, "in this atmosphere of enthusiasm and devotion that *Political Justice* was written." The full title of Godwin's book published in 1793 is "An Enquiry concerning Political Justice, and its Influences on General Virtue and Happiness" and it was in England a representative work on the political philosophy of the French Revolution, Godwin's aim being not as Paine's a refutation of Burke's *Reflections* but to supplement the imperfect and erroneous views of Montesquieu so as "to place the principles of politics on an immovable basis" and these principles really were fundamental principles of philosophic anarchism which anticipate Tolstoy.

Montesquieu was inspired by the writings of Locke which influenced also the constitution-makers of the American Independence Movement. And Locke was the greatest political theorist of the great change which by asserting the supremacy of constitutionalism practically paved the way for democracy.

[1] Quoted by H. N. Brailsford.

The English revolution of 1688 served as an important landmark being in effect a protest against (1) absolutism, (2) Divine Right, (3) the influence of the Papal Church exerted through the State and (4) the aristocratic type of monarchy represented by Louis XIV of France. Great service was rendered by Locke's "Letter on Toleration" (1689) and his two "Treatises on Government" (1690).

Shelley's "Queen Mab" (of which the first faint idea perhaps crossed his mind on 10th December, 1811, as "a picture of the manners, simplicity and delights of a perfect state of society, though still earthly," and which was finished by February, 1813, and issued privately and to which very extensive Notes of a philosophical nature were added for propagating his principles which he thought would be very "stupid to embody syllogistically" in a poem and make it didactic) is in certain parts of it a versified presentation of many ideas borrowed straight from Godwin's *Political Justice*. The rapid development, however, of Shelley's philosophical ideas justifies the strange and vehement repudiation that we find of this crude, immature poem of his in several letters of Shelley written from Pisa in 1821. One such letter (No. 413 in Ingpen's 2-vol. edn. of Shelley's Letters) addressed, "To the Editor of 'The Examiner,' dated Pisa, June 22, 1821, ought to be particularly mentioned in which Shelley among other things adds—"I doubt not but that it is perfectly worthless in point of literary composition; and that in all that concerns moral and political speculation, as well as in the subtler discriminations of metaphysical and religious doctrine, it is still more crude and immature. I am a devoted enemy to religious, political and domestic oppression; and I regret this publication, not so much from literary vanity, as because I fear it is better fitted to injure than to serve the cause of freedom." Yet Shelley does protest even in this very letter "against the system of inculcating the truth of Christianity and the excellence of Monarchy, however true or however excellent they may be, by

such equivocal arguments as confiscation, and imprisonment, and invective, and slander, and the insolent violation of the most sacred ties of nature and society."[1]

This subsequent repudiation by Shelley of the doctrines contained in *Queen Mab* is very important indicating as it does his attitude towards the crude ideas once so readily accepted by him in the days of his immature enthusiasm. It definitely shows the advance made by him upon the scheme adopted in early life from the writers whose influence once shaped his political and social philosophy. Yet in a study of the growth of Shelley's mind and his philosophy such poems as *Queen Mab* and *The Revolt of Islam* possess their great value, at any rate, as highly suggestive landmarks. Something more, therefore, than a passing notice of *Queen Mab* is necessary.

Queen Mab.

I shall have to quote practically three-fourths of this pretty long piece of half-narrative, more rhetorical and didactic immature work of Shelley called "Queen Mab" if I am to illustrate to what extent the crude ideas of a whole host of writers in France and England whose revolutionary creed so powerfully affected Shelley entered into his early poetry.

This poem is full of violent attacks on commerce, custom, tradition, religious creeds and dogmas, kings, priests, the historical Christian Church, monks, courtiers, wealthy aristocrats, politicians, tyrannical laws and usages, devastating wars, mercenary soldiers, venal lawyers, ideas of heaven and hell, forms of worship and types of religion.[2]

It expatiates on Rousseau's creed of return to nature, on the contrast between man and nature, on equality of all in the

[1] Dated Pisa, 22nd June, 1821. *Vide* page 881 of Letters of P. B. Shelley. Vol. II, by Roger Ingpen, G. Bell & Sons, 1914.

[2] Section VI is conside.ed by Mrs. Shelley to be specially atheistical. *Vide* her letter to Hunt of 12th December, 1838, in Ingpen's Letters, page 875.

eye of nature, nature's benevolence, social contract, sovereignty of the people and claims of liberty and equality.

It idolises the state of nature, reason, man's innate goodness, man's perfectibility, hope of human regeneration through liberty, equality and human brotherhood, the idea of natural as opposed to revealed religion, and of Nature's God as distinguished from anthropomorphic gods and goddesses of numerous religions which are all condemned as varieties of superstition. His attack on the *atonement* theory is very elaborate and bitter. He condemns equally the theory of the *elect* and the reprobate. For this purpose the spirit of the wandering Jew, Ahasuerus, is invoked by Shelley. We know what part is played by this Ahasuerus in Shelley's *Hellas*, a poem which flatly contradicts all the sentiments associated with the name of Christ in this crude, immature, early poem of Shelley. As I propose to take up these later conceptions of Shelley in connection with the section to which I have given the name of Shelley's *Metaphysics* I do not here enter upon the utterances of the Ahasuerus of *Hellas*.

Revolt of Islam.

Most of these ideas of Shelley reappear sometimes in a stronger form and in a more vivid and vigorous dramatic setting of incidents and events invented for the purpose in the narrative portion of his "Revolt of Islam" of which the very title is sufficiently suggestive. If I am to quote passages in illustration I shall have to practically reproduce the text.

The year 1797 may be said to mark a very important turning point in the history of the progress of revolutionary ideas in England. From 1789 when the French Revolution actually broke out, for about 25 years the whole of Europe was torn with political agitation and convulsed with war and dynastic changes and the varying fortunes of different countries and nations; yet the fury of the revolutionary outburst spent itself

to a great extent, at least in England, after 1797. Persecution and transportation to Botany Bay did its worst to thin the ranks of the ardent spirits, leaving behind a few, such as Holcroft or Godwin, who felt as if their occupation was gone. The fallen condition of the revolutionary cause and party in England is well described by Godwin in a pamphlet of 1801 meant for a reply to Dr. Parr, Mackintosh and Malthus. Reaction had completely set in against radical ideas and in favour of conservatism and aristocracy and hatred of everything French. Even the young Pantisocrats (Southey, Coleridge and Wordsworth) had gone over to the enemy's camp. Shelley uses very strong language in expressing his deep disgust at Southey's "tergiversation" and unjustly ascribes Wordsworth's change of front to fancied poverty in his letter of Sunday, December 15, 1811, to Elizabeth Hitchener (No. 108 in Mr. Ingpen's edition of Shelley's Letters, Vol. I, pages 197-198).

In the Preface to his "Revolt of Islam" (1817) Shelley speaks of his performance as "an experiment on the temper of the public mind, as to how far a thirst for a happier condition of moral and political society survives, among the enlightened and refined, the tempests which have shaken the age in which we live. I have sought to enlist the harmony of metrical language, the ethereal combinations of the fancy, the rapid and subtle transitions of human passion, all those elements which essentially compose a poem, in the cause of a liberal and comprehensive morality; and in the view of kindling within the bosoms of my readers a virtuous enthusiasm for those doctrines of liberty and justice, that faith and hope in something good, which neither violence nor misrepresentation nor prejudice can ever totally extinguish among mankind." As a fact he has, he next tells us, avoided methodical and systematic argument in recommending his new motives for he would "only awaken the feelings, so that the reader should see the beauty of true virtue, and be incited to those enquiries which have led to my moral and political creed."

If in Shelley's "Revolt of Islam" we detect too vehement a revolt particularly against the power and authority of kings and priests the reason, probably, is that Shelley's philosophical enquiries led him to the conviction that human degeneration was mainly due to two baneful causes, *viz.*, despotism and superstition.[1] Do we not find, for instance, that even in his "Defence of Poetry" he attributes all evils proceeding from the ascendency in the dark ages of Christian doctrines and dominance of the Celtic conquerors of Rome to the extinction of the poetical principle due to the progress of despotism and superstition? (*Vide* para. 24.)

The dedication to Mary Shelley (1819) explains the origin of his plan to reform the tyrannical and intolerant world of which the result is this long poem in twelve cantos, called by Richard Garnett "an idealised version of the French Revolution." Shelley himself says about it that "it is in fact a tale illustrative of such a Revolution as might be supposed to take place in a European nation, acted upon by the opinions of what has been called (erroneously, as I think) the modern philosophy, and contending with ancient notions and the supposed advantage derived from them to those who support them. It is a revolution of this kind that is the *beau ideal*, as it were, of the French Revolution, but produced by the influence of individual genius and not out of general knowledge."[2]

In a mood of self-disclosure Shelley tells the world in this dedication—

> "Thoughts of great deeds were mine when first
> The clouds which wrap this world from youth did pass.
> * * * Until there rose
> From the near school-room, voices that, alas!
> Were but one echo from a world of woes—
> The harsh and grating strife of tyrants and of foes."
> * * *

[1] *Cf.* Revolt of Islam, II, XIII; V. XLIX-L; VII. XXV.

[2] Letter to a Publisher, October 13, 1817.

"So without shame, I spoke:—'I will be wise,
And just, and free, and mild, if in me lies
Such power, for I grow weary to behold
The selfish and the strong still tyrannize
Without reproach or check. * * "

Shelley's own resolve is practically embodied in that of the hero, Laon:—

"It shall be thus no more! too long, too long,
Sons of the glorious dead! have ye lain bound
In darkness and in ruin—Hope is strong,
Justice and Truth their winged child have found—
Awake! Arise until the mighty sound
Of your career shall scatter in its gust
The thrones of the oppressor, and the ground
Hide the last altar's unregarded dust,
Whose Idol has so long betrayed your impious trust." [1]

As an apostle of revolt the hero takes upon himself the burden of the new hope of human regeneration and wakens the multitude from the swoon of ages. But this grand consummation can be achieved only by the active co-operation of womanhood and the heroine Cythna, comes to his aid, filling the world with the wild melody of hymns which his soul had woven to Freedom and rousing her sex, as the leader of a happy female train, determined to wreak ruin upon the tyrants.

"Can man be free if woman be a slave?"—

She asks. She therefore resolves

"Where'er in abjectness
Woman with some vile slave her tyrant dwells,
There with the music of thine own sweet spells
Will disenchant the captives, and will pour
For the despairing, from the crystal wells

[1] Canto II, st. XIII.

Of thy deep spirit, reason's mighty love,
And power shall then abound, and hope arise once more."[1]

The hero knows that

"Never will peace and human nature meet
Till free and equal man and woman greet domestic peace."

And the heroine mourns with him "the servitude in which the half of humankind are mewed as victims of lust and hate," and she is full of hope that influenced by his example she and her whole sex would become most good, and great, and free and "millions of slaves from many a dungeon damp shall leap in joy, as the benumbing cramp of ages leaves their limbs."

Here, as in *Prometheus Unbound,* the poet assigns to the heroine a larger share of responsibility and activity than to the hero in achieving the emancipation of humanity. Both Cythna and Asia cheerfully and courageously face all the dangers of the great enterprise and remain unshaken in their stern resolve never to swerve for a moment from their noble purpose of "advancing towards the unforeseen deliverance from our ancestral chains."

Cythna succeeds in teaching all women equal laws and justice and makes them follow the law of truth and freedom as a true helpmate of the hero. In the Shelleyan scheme of regeneration more is accomplished by the force[2] of eloquent words than by outward action and the disunited multitude, a prey to discussion and victims to the tyrant, become "linked by a jealous interchange of good" into a mighty brotherhood—"a nation made free by love." Shelley's faith is mainly in a change in men's hearts.[3] No vengeance is allowed to be wreaked on the fallen tyrant even though the oppressed people in the first flush of victory demand it, for, according to the ideal of the hero,

[1] Canto II, st. XLII.
[2] Canto II, XXX. Canto IV, XII and XVIII; Canto V. LII.
[3] Canto V, st. XVIII.

"justice is the light of love, and not revenge, and terror and despite."

The narrrative portion of the poem embodies Shelley's political ideals. It is set, however, in a framework somewhat allegorical which is the subject-matter of the opening canto and serves as an introduction to the main story. The temporary depression caused in man by the apparent failure of the French Revolution is represented by the woman, beautiful as morning, sitting beneath the rocks upon the sand of the waste sea and watching with living interest and intense agony the fight between the Serpent and the Eagle, the symbols of Good and Evil. This physical strife typifies the eternal ethical conflict of good and evil here specifically representing the struggle between freedom and tyranny. Shelley is here the creator of his own myth. The temporary victory gained by the Eagle over the Serpent indicates how in the Revolutionary Movement for a time tyranny triumphed over democratic rising. The "woman" may be taken as standing for oppressed humanity in sorrow whose "eyes sent a kindling beam of love divine into the spirit" of the "poet," while telling her strange and awful tale revealing the mystery that lies untold in the dark Future's ever-flowing urn." She embodies Shelley's creed in the words—

> "Know then, that from the depth of ages old
> Two Powers o'er mortal things dominion hold,
> Ruling the world with a divided lot,
> Immortal, all-pervading, manifold.
> Twin Genii, equal Gods—upon life and thought
> Sprang forth, they burst the womb of inessential Nought."

Shelley partly interprets his own myth by referring to the old tale of the strife between good and evil, between freedom and tyranny, in the guise of a combat between a blood-red Comet and the Morning Star. The Morning Star is Shelley's favourite symbol for a variety of things, such as goodness,

liberty, wisdom, love, beauty and even oblivion (and is used by him in his *Ode to Liberty*, *Hellas*, *Epipsychidion* and *Triumph of Life*). In the "Revolt of Islam" it may suggest a vision of regeneration or hope of liberation of man and it guides the regenerator of humanity as the spirit of love and beauty. The spirit of Evil, drawing breath and life from the "darkness lingering o'er the dawn of things" is "the fiend whose name was legion"—King, Lord, God, Death, Decay, Earthquake, Blight, Want, Madness, wan diseases, poison, Fear, Hatred, Faith and Tyranny, all being his slaves dwelling in air, light, thought and language. When the spirit of Good "sprang from the billows of the formless flood and renewed the doubtful war with that fiend of blood"—

> "thrones then first shook,
> And earth's immense and trampled multitude,
> In hope on their own powers began to look."

> "Such is this conflict—when mankind doth strive
> With its oppressors in a strife of blood,
> Or when free thoughts, like lightnings are alive;
> And in each bosom of the multitude
> Justice and truth, with custom's hydra brood
> Wage silent war; —when priests and kings dissemble
> In smiles or frowns their fierce disquietude,
> When round pure hearts, a host of hopes assemble,
> The Snake and Eagle meet—the worlds' foundations tremble."

The difference between Wordsworth and Shelley in their attitude towards the French Revolution is indicated in the First Canto of the "Revolt of Islam." For, even "when the last hope of trampled France had failed," from visions of despair Shelley rose and "saw the the golden dawn break forth," for to him it was clear that

> "Great France sprang forth
> And seized, as if to break, the ponderous chains
> Which bind in woe the nations of the earth."

The poem is full of references to the French Revolution and to the political ideas and ideals of the Revolutionists. The passionate speech of Cythna while addressing the assembled multitude holding a sacred Festival (Canto V) is full of Shelley's political idealism. The message of hope is delivered in eloquent words :

" Scorn and Hate
Revenge and Selfishness, are desolate—
A hundred nations swear that there shall be
Pity and Peace and Love, among the good and free."

Continuing her address, she exclaims—

" Eldest of things, divine Equality.
Wisdom and Love are but the slaves of thee "

* * *

" The powerful and the wise had sought
Thy coming; thou in light descending
O'er the wide land which is thine own,
Like the spring whose breath is blending
All blasts of fragrance into one,
Comest upon the paths of man!"

* * *

" My brethren, we are free! the plains and mountains,
The grey sea-shore, the forests, and the fountains,
Are haunts of happiest dwellers; man and woman,
Their common bondage burst, may freely borrow
From lawless love a solace for their sorrow!"

* * *

" Our toil from thought all glorious forms shall cull
To make this earth, our home, more beautiful,
And Science, and her sister Poesy,
Shall clothe in light the fields and cities of the free!"

" Victory, Victory to the prostrate nations!
Bear witness, Night, and ye, mute constellations,
Who gaze on us from your crystalline cars!
Thoughts have gone forth whose powers can sleep no more!"

The result of her thrilling utterances is a sudden emotional change in the multitude who next celebrate a grand Feast of Federation of Man.

The "Revolt of Islam" contains direct references to the French Revolution but Shelley advocates a bloodless revolution as the best means of achieving man's deliverance from social and political bondage. In one of his letters he speaks of it as a story of violence and revolution relieved by pictures of friendship, love and natural affections. The preface to the poem makes "it a succession of pictures illustrating the growth and progress of individual mind aspiring after excellence." Stress is laid on "universal toleration and benevolence of true philanthropy" and he calls it his "first serious appeal to the Public."

Kings, priests, domestic authority, custom—are all vigorously condemned as hostile to freedom, hope, love, virtue and wisdom which are adored and exalted as particularly friendly to man's highest aspirations. War, even war of defence, is denounced. Shelley's political creed of a nation made free by love is powerfully presented. In the last three cantos his attack is most vigorous on anthropomorphic gods, man-made religions, priestly superstition and the iniquitous policy and methods of the Inquisition, and, generally, on all forms of political or religious intolerance and every institution or idea that is hostile to the growth of free thought. The denunciation of these enemies of human progress is very vehement and bitter. Hatred and vengeance, the poet holds, will pass away with the destruction of kingship and religious faith. Custom and false religion will be replaced by the pure law of mild equality and peace. The poem is enriched with noble hymns to Freedom and the apotheosis of the law of love, of equality, of justice and wisdom.

Grand illusions, so irresistible in their appeal to the imaginations and sensitive hearts of young enthusiasts full of noble zeal for the cause of human regeneration, chiefly borrowed from the Revolutionists of France, occupy a prominent place in the political idealism of Shelley at this period.

The sudden change, accomplished by a bloodless revolution advocated by Shelley, ushers in a new age when

" Sceptres ruled no more—
And even from gold the dreadful strength was gone
Which once made all things subject to its power."

After having elaborately set forth the evils that torment humanity, the poet assures his readers—

" This need not be; ye might arise, and will
That gold should lose its power and thrones their glory;
That love, which none may bind, be free to fill
The world, like light; and evil faith, grown hoary
With crime, be quenched and die. Yon promontory
Even now eclipses the descending moon—
Dungeons and palaces are transitory—
High temples fade like vapour—Man alone
Remains, whose will has power when all beside is gone."

Shelley strikes a high note of optimism for man's destiny and says—

' The past is Death's, the future is thine own;
And love and joy can make the foulest breast
A paradise of flowers, where peace might build her nest."

Though Shelley almost annuls the past, great is his reverence for the " good and mighty of departed ages—the innocent and free, heroes, poets, prevailing sages, who leave the vesture of their majesty to adorn and clothe this naked world and leave

" All hope, or love, or truth, or liberty
Whose forms their mighty spirits could conceive
To be a rule and law to ages that survive."

The heroine, Cythna, as the prophetess of love, finishes her exhortation with the stirring words—

Recede not! pause not now! thou art grown old
But Hope will make thee young, for Hope and Youth
Are children of one mother, even Love."

Faith, folly, custom, hell, melancholy writhe, we are told, underneath the feet of divine Equality and Wisdom reigns supreme.

The grand consummation is presented in a picture of a change which was at first to earth's purest children like a dream but soon they knew the glory of their altered lot. " The Tyrant knew his power was gone " and " earth rejoiced with new-born liberty "—

" For, with strong speech I tore the veil that hid
Nature, and Truth, and Liberty and Love,—
As one who from some mountain's pyramid,
Points to the unrisen sun."

(To be continued).

JAYGOPAL BANERJEE

Reviews

Parsis: A People of the Book—By Professor Md. Tahir Rezvi, M.A. Price Rs. 3 (Board), Rs. 2-8 (Paper-cover).

This interesting book (pp. xlii+222) with two beautiful plates, is the result of great scholarship and researching genius of Mr. Taher Rezvi, M.A., one of the best students produced by our Calcutta University, now a lecturer in the Presidency College. It is an attempt to bring into light the ancient Zoroastrian religion with all its theories and practical views, in comparison to other great Universal Faiths. Professor Rezvi has based his book exclusively upon original sources, quoting Avestan, Biblical and Quranic literature in defence of his own personal views. He has touched quite a new subject that concerned the history of Islam particularly and that of the world in general. He deserves thanks from Oriental Scholars for his valuable labour in bringing into prominence many new ideas in connection with a comparative study of the ancient Parsi Faith.

The book is divided into seven different chapters, the first four dealing exclusively with the religion, culture and civilization of the ancient Persians, giving full descriptions of the ancient literature, life and prophetic mission of the great sage, Zoroaster, and the later developments that arose in the national life of the Persian people through the activities of the different ruling dynasties in different periods He has very successfully proved that the Parsis too are one amongst those who are counted as the followers of "Divinely-revealed" Scriptures, as are the Moslems, Jews and Christians. In this connection his chapter on "Zoroastrianism and Islam" is very interesting, as the author quotes in original, the opinions of almost all the early Arab historians and the traditional sayings of the Prophet of Islam and his immediate successors. The later portions of the book have been devoted to historical descriptions of Persia after the Arab conquest.

In fact it is remarkable that a devout Moslem, like Mr. Rezvi, has for the first time in the present age, attempted to defend a non-Moslem people, and thus has very ably followed in the foot-step of the Early Moslem writers, whose chief characteristic it was to be always unbiassed towards others. The learned author has very ably traced the real cause of the Exodus of the Parsis to India, after the Moslem conquest of Persia. removing thereby a long-established misunderstanding against the followers of the Arabian Prophet. He has referred to, throughout his book, almost all the works of the great Western writers along with those of the Parsis themselves.

The book includes a comprehensive list of contents, a very long and interesting Introductory Note from the pen of the great Parsi writer, Mr. G. K. Nariman, a Bibliography and a detailed Index.

It is satisfactory to note that Professor Rezvi's work has already been rewarded with appreciation in India, Persia, Egypt and Europe, and its translation into modern Persian, from the original English, appears systematically in the "Bulletin of the Iran League," Bombay, from the pen of the talented Persian Professor M. A. Mazandarani.

M. KAZIM SHIRAZI

Gotama the Man—By Mrs. Rhys Davids, D.Litt., M.A., Luzac and Co., 1928, is a fresh presentation of the principal facts of the Buddha's life and of his message to humanity set in a clearer and better light and in very simple form of language. Gotama himself is made to speak for himself as a man addressing brother man in need of a helper in the quest of a true form of religion and morality. The innumerable accretions that have in course of time gathered over a simple record of Gotama's life and teachings, smothering them and making it difficult to arrive at a precise and correct view of both, are here sought to be removed and the autobiographical form has preferably been selected for securing this end. References are, however, given in an Appendix to authoritative texts which informs the reader that the aim of the book is "to get nearer the truth about the life and work of its subject," and particular stress is laid on the point of view from which it has been written, *viz.*, to enable readers to "see the very Man—the 'man-in-man,' who uses but is not body or mind—speaking to the man-in-man in each reader." It is claimed that thus many errors about him even in the best existing evidence might be corrected. The book consists of 18 chapters devoted to Gotama's life-history in simple outline, to his quest and message, his teachings, moods and musings, to his companions and disciples and their work, to the laity and their relation to him, the tendencies at work in his days, his fixed wording and the value set upon his work by the monks against which he is made here to enter a protest. The Introduction plainly warns that "there is no system of metaphysic or of ethics; here is what we call religion." It is admitted that "men received his message as the New and the Better." In one chapter called "After-Days" the Buddha is made to pass a verdict on the development of Buddhism in India and Ceylon and an interpretation from him is given of the Jātakas, of the work done by the Second and the Third Councils, of the meritorious work

of Asoka in his Edicts. The last chapter contains a solemn warning and exhortation to all Buddhists as to the proper aim and function of their religion, if rightly understood and interpreted. The man Gotama of the Śākyas is made to say finally, " I am he who speaks to the earth now in these my last days as man :—

What is it that I hold, now as of old, most precious upon earth ? It is the men, the women whose thoughts are upon both worlds, this and the next. It is the men, and the women who are looking for the new light, who weigh the value in the new that has found utterance. It is the men, the women who seek the 'well' in the worlds for all men, who are the humble, the loving, the lowly, the very worthy, they who spread man's weal, who spread the will to man's weal , they who look upon the worlds as the greater way of man's wayfaring, they who speak what men are the better for hearing, they who long for and love and utter what is True."

J. G. B.

Psalms of Dadu, with a Historical Introduction by Tara Dutta Gairola and Foreword by Annie Besant, published by the Theosophical Society, Benares City, and dedicated to Dr. Rabindranath Tagore.

The volume contains 114 spiritual songs of the famous religious mystic Dadu who flourished in the 16th century, briefly described by Dr. Besant as " prose poems, sweet with the fragrance of Bhakti." The deeper and more intimate spiritual experiences of a true follower of Vaishnavism, who realised in his own life a personal contact and union with the God of love at every moment of his existence and felt assured of salvation by love divine flowing from his Beloved into his chastened and exalted heart, are presented in these inspiring, simple songs remarkable for their touching appeal to all feeling hearts and the easy and spontaneous outpourings of a sincere devotee's mystic moods.

The Introduction, covering about 40 pages, discusses controversial questions relating to Dadu's life and his disciples. Sections of it are devoted to Dadu's religion, his teachings and doctrines, his message and philosophy and how he is affiliated to the galaxy of poet-seers like Kabir, Nanak, Surdas and Tulsidas. An attempt has here been made also to establish the indigenous character of the *Bhakti* movement in Hinduism, however allied it may be to Sufism or Christian mysticism.

The psalms have been successfully rendered in simple prose, the first-line of the original being quoted in each case as a head line. One or two

lines may be quoted just to indicate the nature and quality of these charming songs.

Thou alone art, and all is Thine ;
Neither I nor Mine have any being ;
Yet man calleth them, I and Mine (Psalm 71).

All saints and philosophers have failed to comprehend Him.
He hath neither beginning nor end : He is infinite. (Psalm 73).

What is the Word ? and who understands it ? What is the divine Form? and what is contemplation?
Who is the knower? and what is knowledge?
What are the Yogic practices? and what is meditation?
What is self-knowledge? what is concentration ? what is devotion ? And what is worship?

What is prayer? * * what is divine ove? **
What is divine service ? Tell me, my Master.

Dadu asketh the Universal one.

(The Lord replies). Effacement of the self ; worship of Hari ; purity of body and soul ; and love of all beings. O Dadu, this is the essence of true religion (Psalm 74).

I looked into my heart and saw the Lord face to face (Psalm 80)
Wherever I turn I see Him alone (Psalm 84).

I will sing God's glory and be absorbed in Ram, intoxicated with His love (Psalm 85).

The fish pants and dies when taken out of water ; such is my plight, separated from Hari (Psalm 92).

J. G. B.

The Reign of Aurangzeb—By Upendranath Ball, M.A., Prof. of History, Dyal Singh College, Lahore, Cr. 8vo pp. 184, with two maps. Rs. 1-10 as. Published by Atma Ram and Sons.

This book gives us a running chronological summary of the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb, whose reign marked the zenith as well as the fast decline of the Moghul monarchy in India. The book is full of minute details and the author has evidently worked hard to collect these. He also quotes long passages from the work of Elliot as well as from the narratives of Bernier, Manucci and other European travellers. As a good summary it is bound to be of some use to students. Otherwise, there is nothing to speak in favour of the book. The printing and get up of the book is

good, though typographical errors, mistakes of fact and wrong dates occur in many pages.

N. C. B.

Mangalore, A Historical Sketch—By George Moraes, with a preface by the Rev. H. Hiras, B.J., M.A., Cr. 8vo, pp. xviii+94+1. 1927. Price 12 annas.

This booklet of less than a hundred pages is a publication of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay. The author Mr. George Moraes who professes to write an account of the seaport of Mangalore gives us a well-connected history of the South Canara region. We have short but interesting chapters on the early history of Mangalore, early Portuguese enterprises, wars of Venkatoppa Nayaka, the decline of Portuguese power and the wars of Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan.

Mr. Moraes has utilised all the available sources of information and the value of the book is enhanced by the able manner in which he handles the materials. The extracts from the archives of Pamginu, put in the appendix, are also interesting. The young author deserves compliment and congratulation from students of Indian History,

N. C. B.

The Religion of Burma.—By Bhikkhu Ananda Metteyya. Published by Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, 1929, pp. 438.

The Religion of Burma is an enthusiastic exposition of Ancient Buddhism, mined in the Ancient Pali Literature, relieved by observations on the social, ethnic and economic side of Burman life from the pen of one who is at once an able writer, close thinker and devout Buddhist convert. The author attempts, and quite successfully, to establish that the present-day Buddhism of Burma is nothing like a parasite, but has its root in its very soil and dates from the time when the two Theras, Sona and Uttara, after the Third Buddhist Council, carried over to Burma the essential principles of ancient Buddhism which, after all, have maintained their unalloyed character through vicissitudes from their contact with many an aberration of themselves. The neat little volume is a nice compendium of the theory and practice of Buddhism couched in modern ideas, and amply justifies the aims and aspirations of the *Asian Library* to bring the Indian mind back to a conscious appreciation of its own ancient glory and culture. The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, have laid the reading public in a deep debt of gratitude for being the enthusiastic sponsor of such a series of publications of Indological importance.

HARIMOHAN BHATTACHARYYA

Ourselves

The Late Maharaja Sir Manindrachandra Nandi

We record with deep regret our sense of great loss caused by the death on the 12th of November of Maharaja Sir Manindrachandra Nandi, K.C.I.E., of Cossimbazar, whose munificent patronage, extended unstintedly to all public institutions, has become a household word in Bengal and whose memory will be cherished with love and respect all over the country. No public cause ever went without his generous financial support. The University of Calcutta has enjoyed his benefaction of Rs. 50,000 for promotion of legal education by the award of scholarships to deserving law students of the University Law College since the year 1909 when the Maharaja became an Honorary Fellow of the University. He also created an Endowment for the publication by the University of texts and translations of standard works on Ancient Indian Mathematics and Astronomy and he promised a donation of Rs. 20,000 for the purpose, of which the first instalment has been paid. Dr. G. Thibaut, C.I E., Ph.D., D.Sc., the well-anown Sanskrit scholar, was appointed to prepare a scheme and since his death in 1914, Mr. Phanindralal Ganguli, M.A., Lecturer in Pure Mathematics, has been carrying on this valuable work with the aid of the funds of the endowment now amounting to Rs. 6,277. We offer our sincere condolence to the bereaved family of the late Maharaja.

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The Late Mr. Panchanandas Mukherjee

The University of Calcutta has also sustained other grievous losses in the course of the last two months. In October last passed away, after a protracted illness, Mr. Panchanandas Mukherjee, M.A., part-time Lecturer in Economics,

suddenly cut off in the prime of life. He was a very promising young man of high intellectual powers and winning manners and his premature death, which we all of us are mourning with deep grief, means a severe blow to his scantily provided family. Our heart goes out with sincere sympathy to the bereaved young widow and the aged father.

* * *

The Late Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Krishnachandra Tarkalankar

We are also grieved to refer to the sudden death of Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Krishnachandra Tarkalankar, Lecturer in Sanskrit, on the 27th November, which removes from our midst a learned scholar and representative of the ancient culture of India and of Hindu civilisation and tradition. Inspite of his age he was doing excellent service to Sanskrit learning and higher teaching in the University as a teacher of Smriti and Mimansa. He was well-versed in the Smriti literature, both ancient and modern, and was the author of an original *Tika* of Gautama Dharma Shastra. We give our hearty sympathy to the family of the deceased.

* * *

An appreciation of the work of Dr. Prabodhchandra Bagchi, M.A., D.Lit., in a letter addressed to the Publication Department, Calcutta University, by Professor Jules Bloch.

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of the parcel containing 5 copies of Dr. Bagchi's "Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian," for which I beg you to accept my best thanks.

As to my opinion of the book, I am too much concerned with it to be entitled to give any. Let me only mention the careful way Dr. Bagchi has translated the French articles, and

the pleasure I have had in reading his very clear and useful Introduction and the new etymologies he has given on page xxv.

Yours sincerely,

29th August, 1929. JULES BLOCH.

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DR. HIMADRIKUMAR MOOKERJEE

Dr. Himadrikumar Mookerjee has recently returned from England after getting the degree of Doctor of Science in the University of London in Zoology. He stood first in the M.Sc. Examination in Zoology in the Calcutta University and obtained the University Gold Medal, in 1924. He was awarded the Guruprasanna Ghose Scholarship in 1926 for further studies in England. Within a year of his research he got unexpected and interesting results which proved to be so good that he was awarded the Marshall Scholarship and the diploma of D.I.C., in the Imperial College of Science and Technology, London, under Professor E. W. MacBride, F.R.S. This Marshall Scholarship is a competition amongst the research students of the different branches of Biological subjects, *viz.*, Botany, Zoology, Plant Pathology, Bacteriology, Technology of woods and fiber, Geology including Palaeontology and Entomology. He is the first Indian student who got this honour from the department of Zoology since the creation of the Marshall Scholarship in 1892. Next year he again got the Marshall Scholarship for the second time, a distinction never before conferred in the past. The Calcutta University awarded him the Sir Rashbehary Ghose Travelling Fellowship during the third year of his stay in England. Dr. Mookerjee was a member of the staff of the department of Zoology in the College of Science, Calcutta University, and we hope he will continue to serve his *Alma Mater*.

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Dr. Panchanan Das

Mr. Panchanan Das, M.Sc., has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Science on the thesis examined and approved by Professor E. T. Whittaker, M.A., Sc.D., LL.D., F.R.S., H. Lamb, and F. G. L. Filon, D.Sc., F.R.S.

* * *

Sir William Willcocks

Sir William Willcocks has been recommended by the Syndicate to the Senate to be appointed a Reader of this University, to deliver a course of lectures on the Ancient System of Irrigation in Bengal and its application to Modern Problems on an honorarium of Rs. 2,000.

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Dr. Sarojkumar Das

Dr. Sarojkumar Das, M.A., Ph.D., has been appointed the Sreegopal Basu Mallik Fellow in Vedanta Philosophy for the year 1929 on the usual terms and conditions.

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Debendranath-Hemlata Gold Medal for 1928

Mr. Ajitkumar Haldar has been awarded the Debendranath-Hemlata Gold Medal for the year 1928 for physical fitness on the result of the Physical Examination conducted by the Students' Welfare Committee of this University.

* * *

Prof. J. N. Mukherjee

As president of the sixteenth Indian Science Congress, (Chemistry Section) held at Madras in January last, Prof. J. N. Mukherjee, of the University of Calcutta, presented a very interesting address entitled "The Physical and Chemical Points of View in the Theoretical Treatment of Colloids."

deals with some very difficult
vided into three parts. In the first
he colloidal particle as a molecule
he chemical sense; whilst in the
part he deals with the thermodynamic treatment of
al systems. These very interesting sections of his address
the much-debated question as to how far a colloid particle
be regarded as a thermodynamic component of one-phase
system, and as to how far this concept breaks down in many
cases The considerations which he advances will do much to
remove misunderstanding in this part of the subject.

In the latter part of his address, Prof. Mukherjee contrasts the surface association theory and the theory of ion absorption, and points out that the former theory, which is of a more chemical character, leads to many difficulties and must in general be replaced by the theory of ionic absorption. A good deal of Prof. Mukherjee's own work has dealt with this subject, so that he is able to discuss it from intimate acquaintance. The whole address is an excellent example of the great progress which India has made in science during the last twenty years or so, and, in spite of the modesty of the author, would have been listened to with attention and interest in any body of scientific men throughout the world. Prof. Mukherjee has now established an active centre of colloid research in the University of Calcutta, as is evidenced by the numerous papers which he and his collaborators have published in recent years.

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stand in need of useful information and neces
the want of such an institution. The report, w
be read with great interest. We particularly dr
tion of our readers to the need for financial su
which the Bureau cannot properly function and trust
donations and subscriptions from generous and patriotic Indians will be forthcoming in support of such a valuable organisation. It is to be noted that a German Professor taking personal interest in the Bureau's work has contributed 100 Marks towards the publication of one of its Bulletins and we expect his good example to serve as a stimulus to wealthy Indians and make them come forward with their purse to bear their legitimate share of the responsibilities of the Bureau so that the infant institution may be firmly placed on a secure and permanent foundation.

The Indian Information Bureau in Berlin was opened formally on the 15th of February this year, as a result of a decision of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress, mainly for the purpose of giving Indian students wanting to go abroad for higher education, useful and reliable information about the opportunities for the same in Germany and helping qualified students on arrival in a general way and to obtain admission into Universities and other educational institutions. Experience had shown that ignorance of the possibilities held out by Germany for Indian students to obtain valuable instruction in a number of useful lines, and the absence of an institution capable of attending in a businesslike way to

acted as two of the principal obstacles in the way of Indian students coming to Germany. It was, therefore, felt, that if these obstacles and along with them also the mistaken conception about the language "difficulty" could be removed, more students would be found to take advantage of the opportunities offered by Germany. Universities and other educational institutions in Britain are overcrowded. Political circumstances make the atmosphere in Britain increasingly unfavourable for Indian students with few exceptions. America is too expensive and Asiatics are not particularly welcome in the United States. Opportunities offered by France and other European countries are comparatively limited. These considerations were behind the decision of the Congress to open an information bureau in Berlin.

The Indian Information Bureau has been in existence now for six months. The work done by the Bureau within this short period, taking into consideration the initial difficulties connected with the opening of an institution, the limited means at its disposal, and the opposition from also unexpected quarters, which all organisations unfortunately have to share, fully justifies its founding by the Congress. In a short report it is possible neither to enumerate all the achievements of this Bureau nor to dwell on the significance and importance of the Bureau for advancing the interests of India. We must limit ourselves to a few facts.

Since March, through the Bureau, and as a result of its activities, 17 students have come to Germany for higher education or practical training. This number does not take into consideration students from other European countries, particularly Great Britain, who have come to Germany on short visits and have availed themselves of the services of the Bureau. Out of the 17 students, 12 have come directly from India and 5 from Britain. According to communications to hand, 11 students are still to come : 6 from India, 4 from England and 1 from France. During the period of its existence, the Bureau

has proved of use and help in all to 93 Indians, mostly students. The Bureau has arranged suitable lodgings for 15; obtained admission into schools or universities for 5; secured entrance for 7 for the language course; arranged free German lessons on an exchange basis for 4 students; obtained concessions for 2; supplied commercial assistance to 7 and introduced 4 students to professors. It has helped 18 persons to visit factories of various kinds in different parts of Germany. It has helped educationalists from India to see the schools in which they were interested; medical men to see hospitals and attend operations, and doctors and engineers interested in public health to see various kinds of municipal works. The Bureau has arranged for practical training of 10 students: 2 in oil-refining, 4 for soap manufacture, 2 for photography and 2 for electro-technics. During August alone, 9 students have approached the Bureau in connection with their practical training. Since the date of its opening the Bureau has received and answered 114 enquiries from India covering a very large range of subjects. During the same period it has issued 4 Bulletins, the last one in printed form. The publication of a Bulletin in printed form is an expensive matter and the Bureau has no special fund for this purpose. The last publication, excluding the postage charge, has cost the Bureau nearly 600 Marks. A good part of this has been recovered by advertisements and a German professor interested in the work of the Bureau has donated a sum of 200 Marks towards the expenses of the Bulletin. We hope that this kind act of the German professor will serve as an example to many Indians. As the Bureau is getting to be known it is being visited by a steadily increasing number for information and assistance, as well as to read papers and periodicals. In March we had 12 visitors, in April 27; May, 34; June, 51; July, 72 and August, 183. The steady rise in the number of our visitors has shown us that it is both necessary and useful to maintain a reading room and library. The obstacle in the way of what is generally stated by all our friends and visitors as

an " excellent idea " being translated into action is again lack of funds. We have, however, this month made a start in this direction, hoping that public opinion in India will not be wanting to support this useful venture.

There are several useful lines along which the work of the Bureau could be extended. One such,—the maintenance of a reading room and library—has already been mentioned. There is, besides, the important work of co-ordinating the work of Indian students abroad. The Bureau could do much in this direction. It is also necessary to raise and maintain a loan fund. All these could be undertaken only if the basis of the Bureau itself is first strengthened. Therefore, it is hoped that those who appreciate the work and value of the Bureau will by timely support, both moral and material, see that the Bureau is put on a sound and secure basis.

In concluding this short report, those responsible for the management of the Bureau feel it their duty to express their grateful thanks to the many individuals and institutions in this country, with whom they had to come in contact in the course of their work, and from whom they have received nothing but uniformly hearty sympathy and support.

September, 1929.

THE INDIAN INFORMATION BUREAU
BERLIN, W 8, MAUERSTR. 52